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ABSTRACT

This study addresses major identifying characteristics of the poor in Mississippi. These include problems which are apparent from a study of census data and other secondary materials, such as family composition, family size and occupation, and socioeconomic and demographic attributes. Mississippi has changed from a one crop economy to a diversified economy. Mississippi has the largest proportion of poor families and persons of any State and poverty is more frequent among persons over the age of 65, persons living alone, black families, female headed families, and rural residents. Mississippi also has the largest proportion of school age children in poverty. Poverty is more severe among blacks than whites. Mississippi has the lowest per capita income, but it has been increasing in both relative and absolute terms. Levels of formal education attained by the population have rapidly improved except for blacks. Much remains to be accomplished in the provision of adequate housing. Ameliorative steps suggested include policies relating to migration, selective placement programs, taxation, educational opportunity, employment opportunities, retirement plans, and minimum wage legislation. Three analytical models are presented as a means of assisting action agencies to identify and interpret data in terms of the role of particular agencies and what this means with respect to their resources. (Author/AM)

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POVERTY IN MISSISSIPPI: A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

Mississippi is a state favored by increasing optimism and good reputation. Changes over the last two decades have been far-reaching and immense. As this report points out,

> The promise of Mississippi is great -- for Mississippi is yet a relatively unspoiled, unindustrialized, nonurbanized State with the prospect of its future development before it...Though many of our current problems have emerged from our past history, our past has not saddled us with many of the infirmitives characteristic of older industrialized areas -- our countryside is still viable, the course of our industrial development is in the future, our population concentrations are not yet overwhelming in magnitude...

And, as this report documents, the needs of our State are also great. Mississippi still has considerable ground to cover to reach parity on several quality-of-life indicators. For example, illiteracy and infant mortality rates in Mississippi are comparatively high. That Mississippi's black population was long a disequalized and disadvantaged population under the racist ethic of the past is reflected in numerous measures of disadvantage that are documented in the statistical detail of this study.

For example, nearly 60% of Mississippi's black population in 1970 reported 1969 family incomes below the Social Security Administration Poverty Index, compared with 29% for the total population of the State. The five-year average infant death rates in Mississippi 1971 - 1975 were nearly twice as great for the nonwhite as for the white population. Mississippi has the largest percentage of individual and family poverty of any State in the nation.

An adequate data base is requisite if planning is to be successful. This report provides a compendium of statistical detail on Mississippi population characteristics, changes in population composition, migration, economic characteristics, labor force composition, employment patterns, and the interrelationship between poverty and such factors as family composition, health and nutrition, and the geographic distribution of the population.

Exactly how to go about achieving solutions to the problems we face are issues about which there are differing opinions. Whatever spectrum of opinion one may represent on how to solve problems, knowledge of who, where, to what extent, and with what characteristics is essential to making a focused effort to bring about solutions. It is in this spirit that the Governor's Office of Human Resources is pleased to make this report available to community project planners, administrators, agencies and individuals who are working to bring about an improved quality-of-life in Mississippi.

James Allen, Jr.
Deputy Director

PREFACE

The overall objective of this study is to provide a written analysis which highlights the characteristics of the poor in Mississippi and which provides some usable insights into the principal problems associated with and the causes of poverty within this State. Attention is devoted to major identifying characteristics of the poor and the problems of the poor which are apparent from study of census data and other secondary materials available along such dimensions as family composition, family size, occupation, and socio-economic and demographic attributes. Poverty in Mississippi: A Statistical Analysis is a revised and updated sequel to an earlier publication, The Extent and Distribution of Poverty in Mississippi.

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CHAPTER 1

FOCUS AND OBJECTIVES

Poverty Measurement

Poverty is not a recent phenomenon. However, recognition of poverty *per se* as a social problem about which something should be done through collective action is a relatively recent development. The degree to which progress has been made in eliminating poverty largely depends on how poverty is defined and measured. The SSA poverty thresholds, which provide a range of poverty income cut off levels depending on family composition, are widely used as a standardized measure for poverty delineation. By this measure, circa 25.9 million Americans were reportedly poor in 1975. Of this number, some 67.3% were white and 32.7% were black and other races. Poverty, by this measure, increased by 10.7% over 1974, and accounted for 12% of the population.

Mississippi's Population

In this century Mississippi has changed from a one-crop economy dominated by cotton to a diversified economy. The percentage of urban population is increasing relative to rural population, and the percentage of white population is increasing relative to black. One Mississippian in ten is age 65 or above. Long an area of extensive out-migration, Mississippi has become a net receiving area for white migrants. The number of males per hundred females is decreasing. Mississippi's population is expected to undergo substantial future growth. All of these changes have fundamental implications for the future of the State.

Poverty and Income in Mississippi

Although per capita income in Mississippi has been increasing both in relative and absolute terms, Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of any State. Mississippi also has the largest frequency of the incidence of family poverty (28.9%) of any State. Although poverty is often thought of as primarily an urban problem, rural Mississippi contains the largest number and proportion of the State's poor. Individually, over one-third of all Mississippi residents in 1970 reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level.

The frequency of incidence of poverty in Mississippi is more pronounced among persons over than under 65; among persons living alone than among persons residing in families; among black families than white families; among female headed than male headed families, and among rural than urban residents. The severity of poverty as measured by reported family income is greater among the black poor than the white poor and the unrelated poor than among the poor who reside in families.

Employment

Employment is one of the most significant poverty related characteristics. It is one of the first preventatives of and first defenses against poverty. Significant changes are taking place in the State's labor force. Blacks are still proportionately underrepresented in white collar occupations and overrepresented in operatives, labor, and service occupations. The incidence of poverty is greater for blacks than for whites in all occupational categories.

Education

In general, education is positively associated with income. Although the State has made tremendous improvements in the direction of national averages with respect to formal education attained by the population, the State's black population remains among the most severely disadvantaged population groups in the country in terms of level of education attained.

Poverty and Family Size

Unwanted or unplanned births can keep a family from moving out of poverty or they can force a family into poverty. Additional births can result in a vicious circle of chronic poverty and dependency. Whether measured by mean or median family income or by percentage of families with incomes below the poverty level, there is a consistent relationship between poverty and family size. Mississippi data are in alignment with national data regarding poverty and family size. The relationship between family size and poverty is more pronounced among blacks. Reduced birth rates among persons who do not positively wish to bear additional offspring may carry direct and indirect social and economic benefits.

Poverty and Fatherless Families

Almost two-thirds of all Mississippians living in female headed families in 1970 reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level. Over two-thirds of the employed heads of female black families were poor. Families headed by a female have a much greater risk of falling below the poverty line than do male headed families. Of the total poor families in the State, however, only circa one-fourth are female headed.

Poverty, Health, and Nutrition

Diet is a significant element in the quality of life available to an individual or to a family. Inadequate nutrition fosters deficiencies which hamper an individual's potential to be or become economically productive. The presence of supposed and highly publicized hunger in the Mississippi Delta was in large measure responsible for the liberalization of the Food Stamp Program. Increased food prices accompanying the current combination of inflation and recession (the latter not bringing about the logically consequent reduction in prices) is a major imposition in the efforts of working class families to improve or raise their quality of life.

Ill health is perhaps the greatest single cause of human suffering. Health care is one of the important ingredients in health levels. Differential living conditions and cultural practices have resulted in higher mortality as well as higher fertility rates among blacks. Mississippi, due largely to the high infant rates among nonwhites, has the highest infant mortality rate in the nation. Participation in medicaid, improved prenatal care, and an increased proportion of physician attended births, have helped to bring about some dramatic improvements in Mississippi health level measures.

Poverty and Housing

The costs of building materials, financing, and labor have made adequate housing extremely problematic for many working Mississippians. Nevertheless, notable improvements have been made in Mississippi housing indicators in terms of owner occupancy, decreased crowdedness, and available conveniences. Plumbing inadequacies, particularly among the poor, remain high in Mississippi in comparison to national averages.

Poverty and Aging

One-half of the families in Mississippi in 1970 whose head was 65 years of age or older reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level. Over one-third of the white families and over two-thirds of the black families whose head was age 65 or beyond were poor. However, measurement of poverty in dollar income tends to distort the economic status of the aged in terms of poverty as an inability to satisfy needs.

Agriculture and Rural Poverty

Prosperous agriculture is not necessarily associated with area decreases in poverty. The Mississippi Delta provides an example of the coterminous existence of agricultural wealth in contrast to widespread and pronounced poverty. Lack of an adequate theoretical and factual base for analyzing rural problems has tended to promote the notion that massive transfers to agriculturally based industries and populations and the public expenditures on behalf of these groups have tended to solve the pressing rural problems.

Overview

The effective amelioration of poverty depends on more than rhetoric or correctly phrased intentions. Poverty is an area in which ostensible solutions are easy to come by. It is another thing, however, to state with specificity the exact program which will be effective in accomplishing increased employment, greater productivity, or improved levels-of-living. This study seeks to provide a data base which can be utilized by persons and agencies who need descriptive information on the extent, characteristics, and distribution of the poor in Mississippi. Since policy and policy consequences related to poverty and anti-poverty efforts are often ultimately based on decisions as to the casual factors in poverty, a final chapter reviews some of the ways that casual explanations of poverty may be catagorized.

CHAPTER 2

POVERTY: DEFINITION, MEASUREMENT, TRENDS

There is no hard and fast inseparable line which distinguishes the poor from the rest of society. The immediate meaning of the terms poor and poverty are intuitively grasped within whatever context they are used as referring to a deficiency of some quality or attribute relative to some actual or comparative normative standard. Gillin's definition of poverty as "that condition of living in which a person ... cannot maintain a standard of living high enough to provide for the physical and mental efficiency of himself and to enable his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member"[1] is probably as adequate as any general definition.

It is more appropriate to think of poverty as a concept as best characterized along a continuum rather than as a fixed point. However, if we are to go beyond impressionistic value judgements in thinking about poverty, some arbitrary line of measurement must be drawn. Thus we immediately encounter the problem of determining what factors are to be instrumental in drawing such a line, and, once having decided upon these criteria, of deciding at what point the line of demarcation is to be drawn.

Poverty is Relative to Time and Place

The determination of who is poor and by what standard of deprivation depends on many variables, including family size, age, assets held, needs, climate, consumer price levels, the opportunity to acquire in-kind items such as the growth of one's own food, and so on. A retired couple owning a small farm near Philadelphia, Mississippi might feel well-to-do in terms of income adequacy and living arrangements compatible with satisfactory or nonhardship living on the same income that might mean extreme privation for a family with several children in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.[2]

By American standards more than two-thirds of the families in England would be poor. Many nations in Africa and Asia would be delighted if they could raise their living standards to approximate that of the poorest in America. Ulmer has noted that "even the comfortable countries of Denmark and Holland, both of which probably hold that they have eliminated poverty, would be embarrassed by the American standard, because judged by it, a substantial proportion of their populations are poor."[3] Such comparisons do not imply that present American standards are extravagant or wrong, but rather that standards are socially determined by definitions which vary according to people and place.

Furthermore, the notion of who is poor differs sharply over periods of time. Although it is small consolation to those in need by contemporary standards, many of the poor today would have qualified as affluent a century or half-century ago.[4] It can be argued that economic progress during this century has especially benefitted low income groups. Central heating, running water, telephones, automobiles, indoor toilets, have become such fixtures in our everyday environment they are taken for granted. These either did not exist or were the prizes of the rich in past generations. The phonograph, movies, radio, television, have provided the masses with entertainment and culture that were once the almost exclusive privilege of the well-to-do and have made great improvements in the levelof living of the ordinary family.

Electricity in every home is taken as a more or less inalienable right of every contemporary American, and practically every rural as well as urban home is electrified. In 1930 ninety percent of the farm houses were without electricity.[5] As late as 1950, some thirty percent of the houses in Mississippi were without electricity. In eight counties less than fifty percent of the houses had electrical service and less than sixty percent were so equipped in an additional thirteen Mississippi counties.[6] Since the wealthy could provide conveniences not available to the masses, electrification, access to communication, improved transportation, water systems, all illustrate a diffusion of technological and economic progress that have especially benefitted the poor and average or working class citizenry.

Poverty is Subjective

It should also be noted that poverty in fact is intensely subjective. To observe that the contemporary poor possess household appliances beyond the dreams of a Roman emperor, or that their deprivation would mean affluence for the poor of India, is scarcely a satisfactory response to the "psychological poor."[7] As the President's Commission on Income Maintenance observed:

> Most of the poor do not live apart from the larger society in terms of their hopes and aspirations... They become aware of what others have... The poor are living poorly and are aware of it. They are generally unhappy with their circumstances and would like to be unpoor.[8]

The relative and subjective nature of poverty does not mean that contemporary American poverty is any less evil, less destructive, or less desirable. It means that the poverty which remains is an even more severe problem. When the majority of Americans lived at a relative level of deprivation that would constitute impoverishment today, poverty was less of a social problem because many people regarded poverty as inevitable, and the technological means for substantial improvement in the relative standard of living did not exist. The heart of the contemporary poverty problem is the relative deprivation of the poor.[9]

Consequently, it is largely irrelevant that no one, rich or poor, possessed a television set or an air conditioner in 1920. Miller has noted how yesterday's luxury becomes today's necessity:

> ...it is very likely that for some poor families material possessions may be merely relics of an earlier affluence. Others among the poor may obtain such gifts as hand-me-downs from more prosperous friends or relatives, as gifts, or even by the very expensive process of "paying a penny down and a penny forever"....The ownership of an automobile or a television set may be a cause of poverty in an affluent society. Any man who cannot afford to buy a television set when all of his neighbors have them is probably going to feel poor...Poverty in its truest sense is more than mere want; it is want mixed with a lack of hope.[10]

The ultimate meaning of a decent standard of living is necessarily subjective, and as the standard of those above them in the economic hierarchy changes, those who stay the same feel more deprived. Harrington has put the issue into perspective: "Shall we say to the American poor that they are better off than ... the Russian poor? I want to tell every...American that it is intolerable that so many millions should be maimed in...spirit when it is not necessary that they should be." The standard of comparison, he states, "is not how much worse things used to be. It is how much better they could be..."[11]

Whatever the standard of real or relative deprivation may be in determining who is or who is not poor, poverty is a matter of social definition. This definition is the result of what kind of people, in what time and place, with what level of technology available, and with what value structure, regard a certain level of deprivation as a problem in the sense that it is an undesirable condition about which something can be done through collective action.

POVERTY AS A MATTER OF PUBLIC CONCERN

Poverty is nothing new; most of history has been characterized by a struggle to obtain sufficient sustenance for survival. Neither is poverty new in America. The story of the colonies and the Puritan heritage, and the westward expansion, enrich history with tales of poverty.

Prior to the turn of the century Jacob Riis awakened New York City's conscience about the plight of the poor by his description of "how the other half" lives, while Henry George, struck by the seeming paradox of poverty amidst plenty, sought by his Progress and Poverty to awaken the nation to perils of unearned increments and land speculation which he felt perpetuated poverty amidst progress.

Many persons regarded poverty as ultimately necessary and good as a goad to right living and behavior, as well as inevitable. The tendency was to see the etiology of poverty totally within deficiencies or pathologies of the individual: the poor were poor because their character was flawed, and misery was a deserved companion and punishment for vice and sloth. There was a widespread general attitude and outlook that everyone could climb the social ladder a la Jack Armstrong or Horatio Alger by pulling himself up by his own bootstraps (his efforts and diligence often winning him the favor of his betters), while paupers were relegated to the purgatory of personal failure.

The prescribed antidote was for persons to live thriftily and frugally, to labor diligently, to save for old age, and above all, not to become a public charge. Although there was more poverty than today and the absolute deprivation was greater, an important distinction was made between the respectable poor and paupers. Pauperism, or those who were characterized by high rates of social disorganization such as mental illness, crime, or alcoholism, was regarded as a problem for society largely because of the inconvenience which their presence caused the nonpaupers. Poverty in terms of any injustice in the distribution of desired goods and services or in terms of a social organization in which the poor were victims of the way society was organized was hardly a social problem in the sense of large numbers of people defining it as a problem which could be overcome through collective action. Most individuals expected to be among those classes described as "respectable but poor" or the "working poor." The totally indigent in prisons, asylums, or almshouses were thought to be there because of their own attributes. Often a defective biological inheritance or constitution was thought to be the culprit.

Many people felt that the presence of indigents, poor widows, the ill, the orphaned, and those regarded as racially inferior, were toxins to the social fabric, and felt that public intervention in their behalf would hinder social progress.[12] A major philosophical debate of the era (which like all ideologies of the directions in which society should be moving and manner of implementing ways to get there, had direct practical and political consequences for public policy) revolved around whether civilization and social progress could best be fostered by uninhibited laissez-faire evolution (social Darwinism) or through the application of rational intelligence to guide social development in desirable directions through planning, foresight, and legislative intervention (teleological thought).

Effect of Populism and Progressivism on Social Attitudes

Transformation of the rural and agrarian nation of Lee and Lincoln into an urban industrial mode forced problems to the forefront for which a prescription of the American beliefs of independence and self-help were not totally adequate solutions. Widespread dissatisfaction among rural elements who felt that the advantages of progress and the good life were passing them by, and often at their expense, through control of the nation's financial and industrial power, was fanned into the proportions of a social movement. The culumination of the Populist movement as a national political entity was probably reached by the nomination of William Jennings Bryan as the presidential candidate of the Democratic and of the Populist Parties in 1896.[13]

The Progressive Movement, which carried forth the populist mantle early in the twentieth century, attempted two major modifications in Americans' attitudes about poverty. One was the argument that poverty was a social (rather than an individual phenomenon) which often originated in conditions which were beyond the power of the individual to alter. Also, the Progressives conceptualized poverty by reference to needs rather than in terms of moral worth or dependency. They sought to foster reforms with the positive objective of expanding democratic opportunity rather than the merely custodial functions of isolating and handling troublesome elements.[14]

Modern technology and rising expectations made possible steady increases in absolute level of deprivation which made a person poor.[15] The Bureau of Labor Statistics computed a minimum standard of living for a family of a cotton mill worker in 1909 which figures out to about $1,000 in current prices. By 1923, the Bureau decided that a five-person family was poor only if it had an income under $1,900 per year.

John Lewis Gillin, one of the first generation of academic sociologists, called attention in the early 1920s to "recent studies by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (which) have shown an unexpected amount of poverty. We have been so obsessed by the belief that in rich America there is little poverty, except that of the inefficient, that it was startling[16] to learn that a growing number of fairly capable, industrious, and frugal people have been pushed into the quagmire."

Although economic conditions improved during the prosperous twenties, over one-half of the population was poor according to contemporary standards. In 1928, Herbert Hoover declared in accepting the presidential nomination, "We shall soon... be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation." Only a few years later President Roosevelt's reminder that "one-third of the nation" had failed to achieve a semblance of the American standard of living was impressed into public consciousness.

The severity of the Depression resulted in the first recognized role of the federal government as an instrument of positive intervention in raising the levels-of-living of the poor. The subsequent Social Security Act which was to provide mandatory "insurance" security at retirement for persons occupied in "covered" employment, and also provided for categorical assistance primarily to the aged, was hailed as a trailblazing milestone of enlightened social legislation. It was expected the latter provision would gradually become unnecessary as citizens became "insured" against economic deprivation. The Social Security Act was the first welfare legislation which set up a distributive system of national scope and was part of the shift of opinion about the desirable role of government which led to drastic alterations in the older balance of the federalized system of limited centralized domestic functions of the national sovereignty.

World War II was a historical watershed between the old life and the new, with the fifties continuing employment at unprecedently higher wages and vast expansion of the industrial plant. In the quarter-century 1935-1960 real disposable per capita income is estimated to have risen by about 85 percent with a corresponding rise of forty to seventy-five percent in the level-of-living regarded as the poverty line.[17]

Expanded Consumption of the 1950s

Of course pockets of poverty continued to exist, but they were thought to be on the way to incorporation into "the affluent society" by the overflow of adundance stimulated by the increased mass consumption and production. Specific cases caused by individual failure or misfortune could be handled by the provision of an absolute minimum of support by the ongoing welfare enterprise while concentrations of low-income groups could be guided into their privilege if not their duty of consumption by treating individual deficiencies and expanding motivation through altered social attitudes.

The low-income population received the attention of sociologists and agricultural economists[18] who studied their possessions, attitudes, aptitudes, and aspirations with indefatigable persistence. Poverty as such, however, was not a concern thought to require any vast mobilization of public efforts or resources. With the poor docile and the prevailing faith that orderly economic growth would provide a comparatively reasonable standard of living for all who chose to take advantage of the opportunities which an optimistic and expanding economy seemingly provided, there was an implicit assumption that the basic grinding problems had been solved. Technology had become a great equalizer enabling the masses to arrive at where only privileged minorities had been able to go. Those whose experience had acquainted them with the era of a struggle for existence of the immediate past marvelled at the difference, vowed that their progeny would have a better life than they did, and sometimes wondered that the children of the fifties, freed from the physical constrictions of the past, seemed to feel that the benefits they took for granted came effortlessly from a never-ending conveyor belt completely divorced from any hardship or effort.

However, the supposed affluence of non-officially low income commonality who existed below the level of the more successful managerial and professional classes and the unionized labor employed in large enterprises who were the more obvious beneficiaries of the general prosperity of the country was an image that was a little pale. Well-off by the standards of the rest of the world, "not obviously used to comfort or even convenience, anxious at the cost of each purchase even of necessities.... forced to scrimp with each dollar as the poor are still forced to scrimp with every penny,"[19] they were not affluent by what American society advertised as everyday standards of convenience, comfort, and dignity.[20] And, as Michael Harrington [21] was shortly to point out with an eloquence that captured public attention, the development of American society was creating an emotional and existential ignorance of poverty which hid from view "forty to fifty million Americans who did not enjoy a decent standard of living."

Poverty as a Public Issue

Several factors contributed to the shattering of the illusion that general prosperity had driven the spectre of poverty from the land. The Civil Rights movement helped focus attention on poverty and deprivation as a by-product of racial discrimination. The attention of opinion makers on poverty related issues and the "tide of rising expectations" in the black community "was a first step toward a full recognition of the nature and extent of the problem - the bitter paradox of persistent self-perpetuating human misery of want... amidst steadily expanding over-all affluence."[22]

The most direct variable stimulating the discovery of poverty as a social problem may be attributed to publication of The Other America (1962) by Michael Harrington, which had a direct influence on national policy toward the poor. This book influenced President Kennedy to make a major policy declaration of a "war on poverty" which his successor Lyndon B. Johnson was able to implement through Congressional action. Beginning in the early sixties, the poor found themselves not only the subject of major federal legislation, but for the first time since the Depression a focus of interest for social idealists in search of a cause."[23] More important, it had finally become official policy to "mobilize the human and financial resources of the nation to combat poverty in the United States" and "eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty by opening to everyone... the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."[24]

On March 16, 1964, President Johnson sent a "Message on Poverty" to the United States Congress which called attention to "fifty million Americans-- one-fifth of our people--on whom the gates of opportunity have been closed." This statement is said to have "marked official recognition of the existence of broadspread deprivation in a nation characterized by conspicuous consumption."[25] The same year the Economic Opportunity Act (now Community Services Act) dedicated the nation to "the elimination of poverty by 1976 when the country's two-hundredth anniversary would be celebrated."[26]

Economic Opportunity Act

Title II of the EOA provided for community action agencies and programs to focus local, State, private, and federal resources upon the goal of enabling low-income persons "to attain the skills, knowledge, and motivations and secure the opportunities needed for them to become fully self-sufficient."[27] Provision was made to encourage State agencies to provide technical assistance and coordination to communities and local agencies conducting programs under this title.[28] The prototype of the "War on Poverty" was a comprehensive social services program initiated by a "private, non-profit corporation called Community Progress, Incorporated" in New Haven, Connecticut, which was chartered in 1962 to receive several million dollars from the Ford Foundation.[29]

Community Action Agencies were first organized in Mississippi in 1966 under provisions of the EOA. While CAA's are chartered as "private non-profit corporations," they are financed primarily by public funds transmitted by the federal government. CAAs "take on a semi-official status in that they cannot operate in a county without the sanction of the County Board of Supervisors."[30] In 1975 there were eighteen CAAs and ten limited purpose agencies in operation in Mississippi, conducting programs with such designations as senior opportunities and services, community food and nutrition, senior citizen center , Head Start, foster grandparents, neighborhood service center, emergency energy conservation, summer youth program, meals on wheels, alcohol counseling, family planning, emergency school aid, day care, summer feeding, weatherization, encephalitis eradication and shopping assitance.

The Mississippi State Division of Economic Opportunity (Governor's Office of Human Resources and Community Services) received its initial grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity May 1, 1965. This grant was made under the authority of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Among the responsibilities of the State Divison of Economic Opportunity (Governor's Office of Human Resources and Community Services), the most important is to assist and coordinate the Community Action Agencies throughout the state as well as the many grantees who are administering programs under all Titles of the Economic Opportunity Act which is now entitled the Community Services Act of 1974. This office has the direct responsibility of reviewing all programs submitted under Title II of the Community Services Act and making recommendations to the Governor with regard to the State's right of veto.[31]

POVERTY MEASUREMENT AND TRENDS

It is impossible to determine who are the poor and what are their ecological and demographic characteristics unless some objective measurement can be agreed upon. Opinion as to the appropriate issues and casuality often get mixed up with the definition of poverty.[32]

Shortly after the "War on Poverty" was declared, the Council of Economic Advisors designated as poor any family with an annual income of less than $3,000 or any person living alone on less than $1,500.[33] The need for a more adequate statistical definition of poverty lead to the adoption of the Orshansky Index as an administrative guideline for program purposes. This index, which attempts to specify in dollar terms a minimum level of income adequacy for families of different types in keeping with price levels and consumption patterns, is revised annually.[34]

The Trends of Poverty

Table 1 shows the number and percent of poor persons according to the poverty thresholds for 1959-1975. A steady reduction was made in the absolute number as well as the percentage of poor persons between 1959 and 1969 when the number of poor as measured by the official SSA index decreased by 39% (15.4 million persons) from 39.5 million poor in 1959 to 24.1 million poor in 1969. The proportion of poor in the total population decreased from 22.4% to 12.1 % during this time. The indicated decrease in poverty in the 1960s prompted the President's Council on Economic Advisors to state that if the "reductions in the number of poor persons could be continued, poverty would be eliminated entirely in about ten years."[35]

TABLE 1

PERSONS WITH INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL,
UNITED STATES, 1959-1974

YEAR	POOR PERSONS	
	NUMBER (MILLION)	PERCENT
1959	39.5	22.4
1960	39.9	22.2
1961	39.6	21.9
1962	38.6	21.0
1963	36.4	19.5
1964	36.1	19.0
1965	33.2	17.3
1966	28.5	14.7
1967	27.8	14.2
1968	25.4	12.8
1969	24.1	12.1
1970	25.4	12.6
1971	25.6	12.5
1972	24.5	11.9
1973	23.0	11.1
1974	24.3	11.6
1975	25.9	12.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1959 to 1974," p. 60, No. 120 (January, 1976); "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1975 and 1974 Revisions," p. 60, NO. 103 (September, 1976).

In 1974, however, there were more poor Americans than in 1969, with some 24.3 million Americans living in poverty. Over one million Americans were added to the poverty category between 1973 and 1974. In contrast to the 1960s, during the first half of the 1970s it seemd apparent that the problem of poverty was not decreasing in scope. This was a reflection of the downturn in the economy coupled with substantial inflation. In 1975, nearly 26 million Americans were poor, an increase of 11% over 1975.

TABLE 2

FAMILIES AND PERSONS BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, UNITED STATES, 1975

	NUMBER	PERCENT OF DISTRIBUTION
Total	25.9*	100.0
White	17.8	68.7
Black	7.6	29.3
Under 65	22.6	87.3
65 and over	3.3	12.7
All Families	5.4	100.0
Male headed	3.0	55.5
Female headed	2.4	44.5
All Unrelated Persons	5.1	100.0
Male	1.7	33.4
Female	3.4	6.6

*Is more than total of white and black sum due to inclusion of Spanish origin persons, which totaled 3 million. Seemingly most of the Spanish speaking were distributed within the white and black dichotomy. The balck-white distribution for the sum of these two categories (25.4 million poor) is 70% white, 30% black.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series p. 60, No. 103, September, 1976, p.2.

Table 2 shows the poverty status of families and persons in the United States in 1975. Over two-thirds of the poor are black. Some

87.3% of the poor are under age 65, while 12.7% are age 65 or beyond. For families by sex of head, 55.5% of the poor families are headed by a male, while 44.5 have a female head.

The 2.5 million increase in the number of poor persons between 1974 and 1975 was the largest since 1959, the earliest date for which a comparable measurement is available. The largest increase was among the white population (12.9%), which was twice the increase in poverty among blacks (5.1%). The increase in the number of poor families between 1974 and 1975 (from 4.9 million to 5.5 million, or 10.7%) occurred primarily among male headed families. Poverty families headed by a male increased by 5%. Over 40% of the 528,000 increase in the number of poor families between 1974 and 1975 occurred among families in which the family head was unemployed for fifteen or more weeks during the year.

TABLE 3

INCREASE IN POVERTY, UNITED STATES, 1974-1975

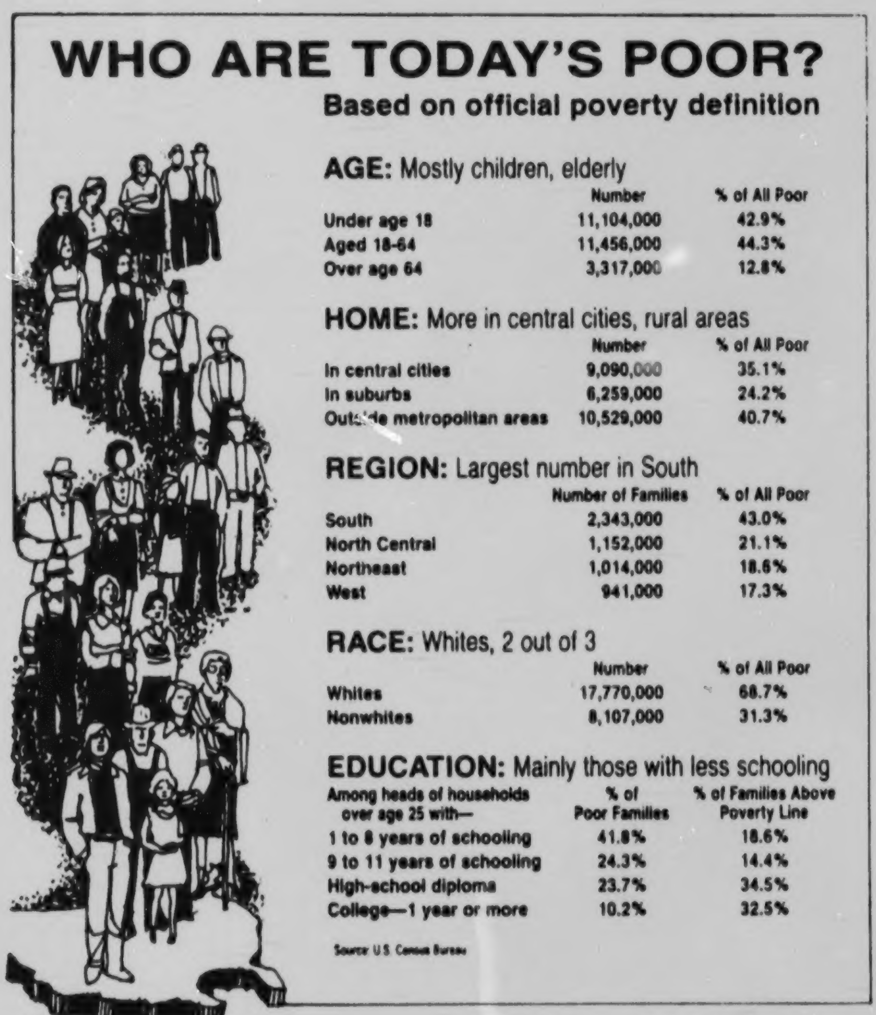
CATEGORY	PERCENT CHANGE
TOTAL	+10.7
White	+12.9
Black	+5.1
Under 65	+11.2
65 and over	+ 7.5
All Families	+10.7
Male Headed	+16.2
Female Headed	+4.6
All Unrelate Individuals	+11.8
Male	+ 7.8
Female	+13.8

Source: Same as Table 2.

Many observers feel that the above census figures greatly overstate the extent of poverty. The Economic Unit of U.S. News and World Report "estimates the number of poor Americans at about 20 million--half as many as in 1960 when the nation's population was smaller...9% of the population today is 'poor', compared with 22% a decade and a half ago."[36]

A Congressional Budget office reports that one-fourth of all American families would have been poor in the absence of income "transfers" such as food stamps and aid to dependent children. The thrust of the CBO report "is that social welfare programs have not failed but have had greater success in raising income levels than is generally believed."37 The CBO report estimates that the number of poverty families is 5.3 million (6.7% of all families) when the effect of cumulative welfare programs are taken into account. The CBO report states that without public assistance gifts every other family headed by a person over 65 would be poor, but only four percent of the elderly headed families are poor when public assistance received is counted as income.

FIGURE 1



WHO ARE TODAY'S POOR?

Based on official poverty definition

AGE: Mostly children, elderly

	Number	% of All Poor
Under age 18	11,104,000	42.9%
Aged 18-64	11,456,000	44.3%
Over age 64	3,317,000	12.8%

HOME: More in central cities, rural areas

	Number	% of All Poor
In central cities	9,090,000	35.1%
In suburbs	6,259,000	24.2%
Outside metropolitan areas	10,529,000	40.7%

REGION: Largest number in South

	Number of Families	% of All Poor
South	2,343,000	43.0%
North Central	1,152,000	21.1%
Northeast	1,014,000	18.6%
West	941,000	17.3%

RACE: Whites, 2 out of 3

	Number	% of All Poor
Whites	17,770,000	68.7%
Nonwhites	8,107,000	31.3%

EDUCATION: Mainly those with less schooling

Among heads of households over age 25 with—	% of Poor Families	% of Families Above Poverty Line
1 to 8 years of schooling	41.8%	18.6%
9 to 11 years of schooling	24.3%	14.4%
High-school diploma	23.7%	34.5%
College—1 year or more	10.2%	32.5%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Nov. 8, 1976

Public Attitudes and Skepticism

Public skepticism about poverty programs can probably be traced to such factors as the spiraling costs of the programs themselves, the economic downturn which has left many middle-class Americans attempting to survive on increasingly thin margins, and the "widespread reports of fraud and inefficiency, particularly in food stamps and medicaid."[38] In addition, some observers contend that the high level of benefits competes with employment as a source of maintenance. A study conducted by Barry Bluestone, a Boston College economist, revealed that as of 1974 a New York City family of four with no earned income received an average benefits package of $6,510, about $1,500 above the poverty line at that time.[39] The Bluestone study pointed out that even in Georgia, with relatively more reasonable cash benefits for welfare families, various public benefits equalled 100% of the poverty level when noncash programs were considered.

At the same time, concern has been expressed about families just above the poverty line who are not eligible for "free money"[40] and benefits. U.S. News quotes the director of the U.S. Catholic Conference's Campaign for Human Development that "many people are being pushed all over the place because they have no power but yet are not poor according to statistics."[41]

Poverty Mobility

According to James N. Morgan, who headed a study of over 5,000 families, conducted over a seven year period by the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research, poverty for most people is a temporary situation. This study indicates that "more than half of the poor families are poor only for limited periods. Over a five-year span, their income averages well above the poverty threshold."[42] People keep moving into measured poverty, often by divorce or by leaving a parental home, whereas others are periodically climbing out of poverty by marriage, finishing schooling, or becoming employed.

This study observes that while one American family in eleven may be rated as poor in any given year, less than one-fourth of these are likely to stay poor over a five-year period. High rates of family dissolution coupled with extremely large families were major predisposing factors to individual or group poverty. According to U.S.News' summary , this study found:

> Few poor families, if any, are starving. Thousands slip into and out of the poor class every year. Even lack of a job is not of itself responsible for much of today's poverty. Only undereducated blacks appear to be condemned to a lifetime of being poor.
>
> What individuals can change that matters is their family and living arrangements, the number of earners and, over the longer run, their job mobility and the education and occupational entrance of their children.

The warning has also been issued that "further progress in trimming the ranks of the poor will be even harder to attain in the future" because "most of the 'easy' poverty cases have already been solved, and it will prove much tougher to make a dent in the remaining hard-core poor."[43] Left behind are "those with barely any education or work experience, children without able-bodied fathers, and the handicapped or chronically ill."[44]

There is considerable controversy over what routes should be followed in anti-poverty action. One area in which there is considerable agreement is that any "new headway in reducing the number of the poor, who have increased recently because of the recession will carry a high price tag."

TABLE 4

BENEFITS PAID BY FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO PERSONS REPORTING INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LINE BEFORE RECEIVING AID, UNITED STATES, 1965-1976

YEAR	AMOUNT (BILLIONS)
	$
1965	31.1
1968	43.9
1972	78.7
1975	129.7
1976	145.0

Source: U.S. News and World Report,(November 8, 1976), p.55.

SUMMARY

The definitions of poverty which are applicable at any particular time and place are largely determined by what kind of people hold what values and live in what kind of culture. There is no absolute measure for determining who is poor that is universally applicable for all places and circumstances. Since definitions of poverty are constantly upgraded, the period in history makes a great difference too. Furthermore, poverty implies subjective or psychological dimensions as well as purely economic factors.

Although poverty itself is by no means a recent phenomenon, conceptualization of poverty as a social problem about which something can be done through collective action is a relatively recent development. The absolute lessening of poverty has made contemporary poverty more obvious and harmful as it exists amidst the general affluence enjoyed by a relatively larger proportion of the population. Poverty has come to be widely recognized as major policy issue for which govern-

TABLE 5

SOCIAL WELFARE EXPENDITURES VIA PUBLIC PROGRAMS, SELECTED FISCAL YEARS, 1950 - 1976

/In millions, except percentages/

Fiscal year	Total social welfare 1/	Social insurance	Public aid	Health and medical programs	Veterans' programs	Education	Housing	Other social welfare	All health and medical care 2/	Total social welfare as percent of--	
										Gross national product	Government expenditures for all purposes 3/
	Total										
1950	23,508	$4,947	$2,496	$2,064	$6,866	$6,674	$15	$448	$3,065	8.9	37.4
1960	52,293	19,307	4,101	4,464	5,479	17,626	177	1,139	6,395	10.5	38.4
1965	77,175	28,123	6,283	6,246	6,031	28,108	318	2,066	9,535	11.7	42.2
1970	145,856	54,691	16,488	9,907	9,078	50,845	701	4,145	25,391	15.2	48.2
1971	171,908	66,369	21,262	11,087	10,456	56,705	1,047	4,983	28,775	16.9	51.7
1972	191,357	74,809	26,078	12,866	11,522	59,385	1,332	5,364	33,473	17.2	53.2
1973	213,942	86,166	28,691	13,447	13,026	64,734	2,180	5,698	36,668	17.3	55.5
1974	239,314	98,953	31,520	16,953	14,112	70,499	2,554	6,722	41,512	17.6	56.5
1975	286,522	122,947	40,709	17,437	17,019	77,910	2,967	7,533	50,870	19.7	57.9
1976 4/	331,366	146,592	48,946	19,193	19,006	86,426	3,128	8,077	58,820	20.6	59.7
	Federal										
1950	10,541	2,103	1,103	604	6,386	157	15	174	1,362	4.0	26.2
1960	26,957	16,307	2,117	1,737	5,367	868	144	417	2,918	5.0	28.1
1965	37,712	21,807	3,594	2,781	6,011	2,470	238	812	4,625	5.7	32.6
1970	77,337	45,246	9,649	4,775	8,952	5,876	582	2,259	16,600	8.1	40.1
1971	92,587	53,903	12,990	5,148	10,331	6,597	872	2,746	18,766	9.1	44.9
1972	106,327	61,248	16,291	6,322	11,405	6,721	1,183	3,155	22,082	9.6	47.4
1973	122,566	72,249	18,061	6,698	12,903	7,360	1,750	3,546	24,280	9.9	50.5
1974	137,155	82,830	20,388	7,145	13,874	7,007	2,009	3,903	27,499	10.1	52.3
1975	167,237	99,748	27,208	8,547	16,370	8,567	2,335	4,264	34,126	11.5	54.0
1976 4/	198,328	120,809	33,245	9,353	18,791	9,168	2,428	4,534	39,863	12.3	56.0
Percent of total	59.9	82.4	67.9	48.7	98.9	10.6	77.6	56.1	67.8	---	---
	State and local										
1950	12,967	2,844	1,393	1,460	480	6,517	---	274	1,704	4.9	59.2
1960	27,337	4,999	1,984	2,727	112	16,758	33	723	3,478	5.5	60.1
1965	39,464	6,316	2,690	3,466	20	25,638	80	1,254	4,911	6.0	60.4
1970	68,519	9,446	6,839	5,132	126	44,970	120	1,886	8,791	7.1	64.0
1971	79,320	12,466	8,272	5,939	125	50,107	175	2,237	10,008	7.8	64.0
1972	85,031	13,561	9,787	6,544	117	52,664	149	2,209	11,391	7.6	63.8
1973	91,376	13,917	10,630	6,749	123	57,374	430	2,152	12,388	7.4	64.9
1974	102,159	16,123	11,133	7,808	239	63,492	545	2,819	14,013	7.5	64.1
1975	119,285	23,199	13,502	8,890	449	69,344	632	3,269	16,744	8.2	65.0
1976 4/	133,038	25,783	15,701	9,839	215	77,257	700	3,542	18,957	8.3	66.9
Percent of total	40.1	17.6	32.1	51.3	1.1	89.4	22.4	43.9	32.2	---	---

1/ Represents expenditure under public law and from trust accounts, including administration, capital outlay, and some payments outside the United States.
2/ Combines "Health and medical programs" with medical services provided in connection with social insurance, public aid, veterans' and "other social welfare" programs.
3/ Expenditures for that part of workmen's compensation and temporary disability insurance payments made through private carriers and self-insurers omitted in computing percentages.
4/ Preliminary data.

Source: A. Skolnik and S. Dale, "Social Welfare Expenditures," Research and Statistics Note, Note No. 22 (December 2, 1976).

mental action for its removal and alleviation is appropriate.

The degree to which progress has been made in eliminating poverty largely depends on how poverty is defined and measured. The SSA poverty thresholds, which provide a range of poverty income cut offs depending on family composition and farm or nonfarm residence, is widely used as a standardized measure for poverty delineation and program administration.

By this measure, nearly 26 million Americans were poor in 1975, an increase of 10.7% over 1974. However, many authorities contend that the actual number of "poor" today is much less than a decade or so ago because of massive in-kind programs subsidizing the housing, medical care, education, and feeding of recipients.[45]

FOOTNOTES

1. John Gillin, Poverty and Dependency, (New York: Century, 1922), p.23.

2. Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, The New Poverty, (Public Services Department, FRB of Philadelphia,n.d.), p.5. Buckley, noting that true differences in economic standing between the States are not reflected in comparative measures of dollar income since "A dollar in Mississippi takes you much further than a dollar in New York" not to mention "intangible benefits such as unpolluted air, uncrowded living conditions, the absent temptations of costly urban distractions," adds that one might easily conclude that "adjusted, the standard of living in Mississippi (lowest per capita income State) is equal to the standard of living in New York (highest per capita income State)." William F. Buckley, Four Reforms - A Guide for the Seventies, (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1972), pp. 40-41. "Each region has its own particular household and family needs--winter clothing and fuel are more costly in Minnesota than in Mississippi." Robert L. Horton and R.H. Hermonson, Programmed Learning Aid for Social Problems(Homewood: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1975),p.55.

3. Melville Ulmer, The Welfare State: U.S.A. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin,1969), p.68. "...America has the richest poor people on earth, for America's welfare poor are more affluent than perhaps three-fourths of the Americans who fought the American Revolution, and are probably more affluent than three-fourths of the world's people today. Horton and Hermonson,p.54. Brown has called attention to pathological "guilt feelings over America's continuing if tarnished affluence" as an anomalous paradox:

> ...When the other nations of the world want to equal us in what we have and enjoy, it seems contradictory for us to...echo their condemnation of us for already having what they are trying to get--in some cases by taking it from us. Even more ironic is the fact that those who are loudest in condemning America for her selfishness, greed, and exploitation of Third World countries and her own minorities are people who themselves luxuriate in American affluence and would never think of modifying their own appetites or consumption. Journalists, legislators, and movie actors are prominent among those who denounce America's exploitation of the poor, but few indeed have followed...advice to..."go, sell what you have, and give to the poor."

Harold O. J. Brown, The Reconstruction of the Republic (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1977), p.14.

4. One only need read accounts of the living conditions of most of Mississippi's population in the 1930s or earlier to recognize that the character of life has been drastically altered for the average family through modern technology and social organization. At the same time, the difference between standards regarded as minimal for a decent living have been so greatly upped and so widely diffused to most citizens that the relative deprivation of the poor and the accompanying heightened consciousness of these differences among those proportionately fewer who remain disequalized may be more problematic than prior to the general improvements. "The poverty line changes as society becomes more affluent. There are relatively few Americans today who have no place to sleep, no shoes to wear, or who go to bed hungry (in fact, obesity is more common among the poor than among the non-poor)..." Horton and Hermanson, p. 54. For discussion of the levels-of-living of Southern blacks during the 1930s era, see Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (Evanston: Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 364-379.

5. Rose Friedman, Poverty Definition and Perspective (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1965).

6. J.V.D. Saunders, et al, Mississippi's Counties; Some Social and Economic Aspects, (State College: Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 6, 1957), p. 68.

7. Bendiner has defined the "psychological poor" as those poor "who manage to eat enough to keep going but who suffer as keenly as those below them on the economic ladder because they have so little hope of ever enjoying what the rest of American society routinely enjoys..." Robert Bendiner and Kenneth Davis (ed.), The Paradox of Poverty in America (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1969), p. 39.

8. President's Commission on Income Maintenance, Poverty Amid Plenty (Washington: USGPO, 1969), p. 21.

9. It may be argued that from a consumer goods standpoint, such as whether a family has electric appliances, television, telephone, automobile transportation, or whether their children were born in hospitals, there is little poverty in the U.S. today. See John B. Parrish, "Is U.S. Really Filled with Poverty?" U.S. News and World Report, (September 4, 1967), p. 51. Caplovitz has argued that the poor have bought television sets, phonographs, and telephones to embellish their social status, compensating for their low social status by consumption. See Edward Banfield, The Unheavenly City, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970), p. 124.

10. Herman Miller, Rich Man Poor Man, (New York: Crowell, 1971), p. 111.

11. Michael Harrington, The Other American, (New York: MacMillan, 1962).

12. For description see Richard Hofstader's Social Darwinism in America or Vernon Parrington's Main Currents in American Thought.

13. In Mississippi the efforts of the small farmer-working class element to make government work in the interest of the masses of its citizenry has been described by A.D. Kirwan as the "revolt of the rednecks." It was a period in which small farmers and laborers challenged the political representatives of the wealthy and corporate interests in the State. Although not without its share of alleged scandal and demagoguery, the politics of the period was forced to respond to the needs of small-farmers and wage earners. The result was seen in such reforms as public education programs, guarantee of bank deposits, and regulation of corporations. A.D. Kirwan, Revolt of the Rednecks: Mississippi Politics, 1876-1925, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951). In V.O. Key's description, Populist Governor James Vardaman "bundled all the Populist doctrines--anti-corporationism, the cause of the common man--with the advocacy of white supremacy...Vardaman, as governor, took progressive steps in education and in the management of state institutions...He obtained legislation to limit to $2,000,000 the amount of property that a corporation might hold. 'Millionaires produce paupers--the concentration of riches in the hands of the few breeds poverty and squalor among the many,' the governor argued." V.O. Key, Southern Politics (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1950), p. 232. CF.: Nannie Pitts McLemore, "James K. Vardaman: A Mississippi Progressive," Journal of Mississippi History, 29 (February, 1967), pp. 1-11; W.D. McCain, "The Populist Party in Mississippi." Unpublished Master's thesis, Univ. of Mississippi 1931; Heber Ladner, "James Kimble Vardaman, Governor of Mississippi 1904-1908," Journal of Mississippi History, 2 (1940), pp. 175-205; William F. Holmes, "James K. Vardaman and Prison Reform in Mississippi," Journal of Mississippi History, 27 (August, 1965), pp. 229-248. As a U.S. senator Vardaman was closely identified with the liberal coalition led by Robert M. Follette and George Norris. J. Fortenberry, "Vardaman and American Foreign Policy," Journal of Mississippi History, 35 (May, 1973), p.129. In the populist era "big business" had been the whipping boy of leaders, and the people of Mississippi were generally antagonistic to big corporations." In the depth of the depression, Hugh White was elected governor on a platform of economic salvation through industralization styled as a "Balance - Agriculture-with-Industry" program. Robert F. Couch, "The Ingalls Story in Mississippi, 1938-1958," Journal of Mississippi History, 26 (August, 1964), p. 192.

14. Progressivism represented a triumph of telelogical thought on social problem issues. It was the influence of a number of currents, including the influence of Samuel Gompers and the social goals sought by unionization in labor, the rise of the "social gospel" with a distinctly this world reformist bent in religion, the influence of consciousness raising journalism represented by "the muckrackers," the influence of academicians in the expanding social science disciplines, and the continuing influence of populism in the political sphere. By 1920 most of

principles earlier advocated by the Populist Party had been enacted into law.

15. Relevant to this point is Thernstrom's observation of the steady erosion of the subcultures which defined the expectations of working men in the past.:

> There were once working-class enclaves...within which the mobility values of the larger society were redefined in more attainable terms. The working men of nineteenth century America...toiled with remarkable dedication to accumulate the funds to pay for tiny cottages of their own and were amazingly successful at it. There are some contemporary analogues to those cottages...But everything about contemporary America conspires to make both copping out entirely and lowering one's sights more difficult.

Stephen Thernstrom, "Is There Really a New Poor?" The Paradox of Poverty in America, pp. 32-33.

16. Perhaps the discovery must be made episodically. The Burke's describe Mollie Orshansky's studies of the demographic distribution of poverty as "startling" in their revelation of the extent of poverty among full-time working families. They quote Miss Orshansky in an interview with them: "I thought it would be impressive--the poor families headed by the year-round workers, the working-poor, the guys who do everything we tell them to, work hard, yet can't make it, but I don't think anyone realized how impressive the number would be." Vincent and Vee Burke, Nixon's Good Deed: Welfare Reform (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p.12. Orshansky's studies of the early 1960s are credited with destroying the myth that no working family could be poor. Horton and Hermanson state that "it almost seems that each generation must discover the existence of poverty anew... public interest in poverty seems to change in cycles of roughly two decades in length." p. 53.

17. However, it might be logically contended that the "myth of the New Affluence" was in fact just an expansion of the economy which disproportionately benefitted the upper and upper-middle classes while it left the poor and the deprived to gather crumbs that fell from the table. Richard Parker, "The Myth of Middle America," in Marc and Phyllis Pillisuk, How We Lost the War on Poverty, (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973), p. 28. Parker's contention is based on the relative distribution of shares of income rather than absolute levels-of-living. Ibid., pp.27-48.

18. Carrie G. Parker, H. Ladewig, amd Edward L. McLean, A Bibliography of Rural Development: Listings by Topic (Clemson: Dept. of Ag. Economics and Rural Sociology, South Carolina AES, AE 391, June, 1976).

19. Henry Fairlie, The Spoiled Child of the Western World: The Miscarriage of the American Idea in Our Time (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1976), p. 218.

20. A phenomenon treated to some extent in Vance Packard, The Hidden Persuaders.

21. Michael Harrington, The Other America (New York: Macmillan, 1962).

22. Kenneth Davis, The Paradox of Poverty in America, p.5.

23. Stephen M. Rose, The Betrayal of the Poor: The Transformation of Community Action (Schenkman Pub. Co., 1972), p.1. "...President Johnson obliged...elements of his party by exploiting the emotional climate resulting from the President's death and demanded that the Congress pass the Kennedy bills which they had rejected the previous spring. Almost blindly . . . without any serious attempt to debate many aspects of these bills, they began to be passed." W. Cleon Skousen, The Naked Capitalist (Published by the author, 2197 Berkeley Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1970), p. 99. Ricci, referencing such programs as social "insurance", cash assistance (ADC), and in-kind transfers (food stamps, medicaid), states that President Johnson's "most treasured handiwork, the Great Society, has been far more effective than anyone realized in rooting out poverty..." James Ricci, "The Great Society Was A Success," Philadelphia Inquirer 1/28/77, in News Clippings (Washington: Community Services Administration, Office of Public Affairs, Jan. 24-31, 1977), p.9.

24. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, August 20, 1964, As amended 3/1/70), p. 1.

25. Rose, op. cit.

26. Herman Miller, "Income Concentration and the Problem of Poverty," in Ralph Kaminsky (ed.), Introduction to Economic Issues (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1970), p. 188.

27. EOA of 1964, p. Section 230, p. 42.

28. Ibid., Part C, Supplemental Programs and Activities, pp. 42-45. The director of the Community Services Administration (formerly the Office of Economic Opportunity) is authorized to fund State agencies to assist the governors in excercising their authority under the Act and to aid State governments in their efforts to assist the poor. The State offices act in an advisory capacity to the governor on anti-poverty matters, provide information and assistance to the State legislature at the discretion of the governor, provide technical assistance to CSA grantees, and advise the CSA on all funding requests within the State and on all training and technical assistance plans. "Role of State Economic Opportunity Offices," OEO Instruction 7501-1 (March 25, 1970). For discussion of the role of the tates in OEO and the novelty of Community Action Programs supported directly from federal sources, see Roger H. Davidson, "The War on Poverty: Experiment in Federalism," and Sar A. Levitan, "The Community Action Program: A Strategy to Fight Poverty," Annals, 385 (September, 1969), pp. 1 - 13 and 64 - 75.

29. E. and J. Cahn, "The War on Poverty: A Civilian Perspective," Yale Law Journal, 73 (July, 1964), p. 1319. Cf.: Earl Johnson Jr., Justice and Reform: The Formative Years of the OEO Legal Services Program (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1974), pp. 22-35.

30. 1976 Annual Report by the Division of Human Resources and Community Services in the State of Mississippi

31. Ibid.

32. The Measure of Poverty (Washington: DHEW, 1976), p.1.

33. By this definition, 51.6% of the families in Mississippi in 1960 were poor. By comparison, 21.4% of the families in the U.S. were poor. In Mississippi, 36% of the urban families and 62% of the rural families were poor, contrasted to 16% and 34% respectively for the United States. Nearly 85% of Mississippi's 1950 families had incomes of less than $3,000 in 1949, compared wtih nearly 45% for the United States as a whole. In 1970, 25.2% of the Mississippi families reported 1969 incomes of less than $3,000, compared to 10.3% for the United States. J.V.D. Saunders, et al , Mississippi Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects, p. 68. U.S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1972, pp. 4, 268; "Census Shows State Areas of Low Income," Mississippi Farm Research, 29 (December, 1966), p.2.

34. Mollie Orshansky, "Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View of Poverty," Social Security Bulletin (July, 1965); "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," Social Security Bulletin (January, 1965). For evaluation premises underlying the federal poverty definition, see J.P. Madden, "Poverty Indicators as Measures of Social Welfare," in George L. Wilber (ed.), Anticipating Poverties of the Poor (Lexington: University of Kentucky, Soc. Welfare Research Institute, 1971).

35. Mark G. Arnold and Greg Rosenbaum, The Crime of Poverty (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1973), p. 2.

36. "How Many Live in Real Want? Answers Under Fire," U.S. News and World Report (November 8, 1976), p. 55. Among the reasons cited for the overcount are:

    1) Taxpayer-supported "in kind" programs such as food stamps and housing subsidies. Estimate of the value of noncash incomes to the poor exceed $50 billion per year.

    2) Incomes of the poor are often underreported.

    3) Federal government figures do not take into account widespread sharing of resources among unrelated persons, such as single people who

split rent or meals.

4) Official poverty statistics do not include income from assets such as property sales, gifts, inheritances, and insurance.

5) Students and others with low income may not reflect a poverty status in terms of actual deprivation.

37. Economic Opportunity Report, 12 (January 24, 1977), p. 10. Ricci argues that "those windbags who huff and puff ridicule at government attempts to reduce poverty" (identified by Ricci as"conservatives") are presented with "bad news" by a Congressional Budget Office report which estimates that the reduction in poverty 1965-1975 was in the order of 60%. According to Ricci, critics have maligned the Great Society effort by pointing out "that while public expenditures for all social welfare programs quadrupled from $77 billion in 1975, the percentage of American families living in poverty decreased by only 30%." The CBO report, according to Ricci, points out that official poverty statistics overstate the amount of poverty because of in-kind transfers.

38. U.S. News, p. 56. For an earlier articulation of skepticism, see Shirley Schieba, Poverty is Where the Money Is (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1969). CF.: Belva Detloff, Welfare Wonderland (Whittier, California: Action Books, 1969).

39. U.S. News, p. 56.

40. A term used by a beneficiary of what the recipient called "free money" on a national news telecast in mid-February, 1977. This particular story featured a program in Florida paying benefits to alleged farmworkers supposedly displaced by recent weather effects. The feature of the news item was a prospective employer unsuccessfully attempting to hire farm workers among the alleged farm workers supposedly unable to find employment. That propertied agriculturists as well, in many individual and corporate instances, have received similar "free money" because of their beneficient inheritances or gigantic incomes from other activities wherein sequestering agricultural space provided the investment or tax havens for which the public paid the agriculturists a tribute for what was not produced would not seem, on the surface, to be an exonneration of the practice referenced above.

41. U.S. News, p. 56. The caveat is suggested that the major infliction thrust upon the "forgotten man" (early sociologist William Graham Sumner's concept for the common middle-class laboring individual who provides for his own through his own efforts, and who expects and receives nothing of society, and costs nothing to it) is not so much what assistance they do not qualify for as it is in the form of "frustration among Americans who feel their hard work, thrift, morality, self-improvement, and discipline are being punished" by the "present mind boggling maze of Federal poverty programs."

Richard C. Renstrom, "Rewarding Failure," Freeman, 24 (September, 1974), pp. 515-521.

42. "A Surprising Profile of America's Poor," U.S. News and World Report (November 8, 1976), p.

43. U.S. News, p. 55.

44. Ibid.

45. See Background Paper No. 17, The Congress of the United States, Congressional Budget Office, Poverty Status of Families Under Alternative Definitions of Income (June, 1977). In fiscal 1976, some 21.4 million American families (circa 25%) would have been poor without any public "transfers" or taxes. When public cash "transfers" are counted, the incidence of poverty is halved to 10.7 million families (13.5%) before taxes. If in-kind transfers are included, the number of poor families is reduced to 6.4 million before taxes, 6.6 million after taxes. If income is looked at after taxes and after total transfers, 8.3% of the families in the U.S. are poor. Thus measured, the incidence of poverty among families has fallen by approximately 56% since 1965.

CHAPTER 3

MISSISSIPPI: THE STATE AND HER POPULATION

Time Past Becomes Time Present

In the Mississippi in 1940 the mule and the sharecropper were ubiquitous parts of an economic system which helped keep much of her population in an economic backseat, while segregation afforded social controls over blacks similar to those which slavery had afforded in the past.[1] Like the rest of the South, Mississippi reached a watershed in historical development in the 1940s.[2] The years of World War II were catalysts for change in Mississippi, opening the State to the outside world and setting in motion forces which over the past generation have brought about fundamental alterations in the institutions under which Mississippians live.[3]

One of the most far reaching changes has occured in the economic realm. In the early decades of the century Mississippi was "an agrarian state still trying to live on cotton and riding the back of the tenant farmers."[4] Whatley has given the following description:

> Being predominantly an agricultural region, Mississippi had not shared in the prosperity of the 1920s to a very large extent... in the second decade of the twentieth century, cotton did sell for 20 to 25 cents per pound, but during that period, sixty percent of the tenants were whites. Farm income per capita was only $200 per year. This figure includes vegetables grown and used in the home...Thousands of people were forced to seek employment in towns and cities...According to an article in the Literary Digest for May 7, 1932, entitled "One-Fourth of a State Sold for Taxes," thousands of people lost their homes at the sound of the sheriff's hammer...men could not pay the property taxes or meet the mortgage provisions on their land. Approximately forty thousand families were homeless because of this situation. These sales represented approximately fourteen percent of all town property and twenty percent of all farms. Seventy-four sheriffs sold 39,699 farms, and on one Monday, the state acquired 400,000 acres of farm soil.[5]

Domination of Mississippi by the one-crop cotton economy with its attendant tenancy, poverty, white supremacy and general provincialism established the rhythm of the culture and set the tone for a way of life that was both proverbial and distinct.[6] In 1941 Mississippi had circa seventeen agriculture and other extractive industry workers for every one person employed in manufactoring. No other State in the republic showed such a concentration in low-value production.[7]

Although agriculture remains an important segment of the economy, Mississippi is no longer predominantly an agrarian state. Mississippi agriculture has changed from a way of life to a highly capitalized commercial enterprise favoring intensive technology and mechanization. King Cotton was disposed from his throne as the husbandtry and cultivation of beef cattle, hogs, rice, soybeans and other crops assumed greater significance,[8] while the State's industrial expansion marked an irreversible break with her agrarian heritage. In 1965, for the first time, the number of Mississippian's employed in manufacturing exceeded the number employed in agriculture. By 1970 Mississippi had largely made the transition from a rurally focused culture dominated by an agricultural ethos to an industrial and commercial mode of life for most of her citizens.

Changes have also been notable in the political realm.[9] Access by black citizens to the ballot box "wrought a remarkable change in southern politics and in southern society, too, as the blacks worked upon the many inequities that had plagued their lives for so long."[10] Differences in racial practices and attitudes in Mississippi today and only a decade ago are notable and distinct. Boland's observation that a Southern Rip Van Winkle awakening from a several decade sleep would not believe his senses at the differential role played by blacks in economic, educational, and political life is no less apt for Mississippi than for her sister Southern States. It was not without emotion and some violence that Mississippi's ties to the segregationist past were broken, but by the mid-70s Mississippi's success in adjustment to new ways was reflected in the fact that the State's blacks had more freedom from local controls and enjoyed more economic prosperity than ever before.

A description of Mississippi in the 1950s which appeared to capture many of its faces stated:

> Mississippi has...wealth and poverty, education and illiteracy, progressivism and reaction. The tendency of many of its people to nurture traditions and to remember the past is but the natural inclination to look back to what was, and now seems to be, a brighter period. Their social heritage produces a fierce pride in thier own history, customs, and institutions -- the "Southern way of life." It also produces resentment against external criticism and resistance to outside reformers or

> their suggestions. Yet, these same reforms are constantly being affected by local decisions; institutions and habits change here as elsewhere.[11]

This description still retains validity, although the achievement of agricultural diversification, comparative industrialization and the altered policies resulting from the dethronement of segregation under pressure of the civil rights movement and federal legislation have resulted in dramatic changes. The mergence of time past into time present in Mississippi has been captured in Skates brief description:

> One cannot conclude that the past is altogether dead in Mississippi. Yet within the last three decades all of the basic themes of the previous hundred years have been been altered -- King Cotton and agrarianism, sharecropping and segregation, and feeling of alienation and insulation from the world outside. In their places...have come modern transportation and communication, industrialization, recession of the race question, agricultural diversification -- institutions not unlike those in other states.[12]

As Cross has remarked: "For Mississippi the past is gone, the future is open."[13]

MISSISSIPPI'S POPULATION

The principal resource of any area is its people. One of the societal changes reflected in population statistics is the distribution of the population among geographic areas, particularly as this relates to the magnitude and direction of change over time. Another feature of population inquiry which is an essential ingredient for informed planning is that of the demographic characteristics of the population. The remainder of this chapter seeks to provide a brief overview of the changes, trends, and profile of the Mississippi population in terms of growth patterns, distribution, and basic demographic variables.

Population Growth and Distribution

The sources of population change in an area are natural increase (difference between births and deaths) and migration (population movement). These three variables in combination account for the redistribution of population within an area as well as its overall growth or decline.

Although there has been considerable redistribution of the State's population, the total population has been salubriously stable for the past four decades. Mississippi's enumerated population in 1970 (2,216,912) was only 1.5% larger than total population in 1930. This stable balance over the past generation has resulted from the combined interaction of urban growth, rural decline, and migration. Nevertheless, Mississippi's population in 1970 was the highest in the State's history (Table 1).

TABLE 1

MISSISSIPPI POPULATION BY RACE 1900-1970, AND TOTAL POPULATION 1900-1975

YEAR	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1975	2,346,000	NA	NA
1970	2,216,912	1,393,283	823,629
1960	2,178,141	1,257,546	920,595
1950	2,178,914	1,188,632	990,282
1940	2,183,796	1,106,327	1,077,469
1930	2,009,821	998,077	1,011,744
1920	1,790,618	853,962	936,656
1910	1,797,114	786,111	1,011,003
1900	1,551,270	641,200	910,070

Source: 1900 - 1970, U.S. Census of Population. 1975, Current Population Reports, Series P-26, No. 75-24.

Rural - Urban Distribution

The census bureau employs several concepts to describe the rural and urban population. Briefly these are delineated as:

Rural - Urban Definitions

Urban Areas/Population: Persons living in places of 2,500 or more population.

Rural Areas/Population: Persons not living in urban areas.

Urban Definitions

Urbanized Areas: At least one city of 50,000 or more persons plus the surrounding closely settled territory that meets certain

	criteria of population density or land use.
Central Cities:	The legal city.
Urban Fringe:	Remainder of the urbanized area.

Metropolitan - Non Metropolitan Definitions

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA):

County containing a central city of 50,000 or more persons plus contiguous counties closely integrated on the basis of social and economic criteria.

Metropolitan Area/Population:

When used in reference to the SMSA concept, it means the area/population within the SMSA. Counties not within the SMSA would be non-metropolitan according to the SMSA definition.

In 1920, for the first time, as many as one-half of the nation's population lived in areas which the census bureau defined as urban. At this time Mississippi was only 13.4% urban. Although the rate of urbanization accelerated significantly after 1920, so that the population increased to 20%, 28% and 38% urban by 1960, Mississippi has remained a comparatively rural State. In 1970 Mississippi ranked highest in the South and fourth among all States in percentage of rural population, with its people apportioned as 55.5% rural and 45.5% urban in the 1970 census (Table 2). The 1970 census showed that 73.5% of the national population lived in urban areas.

TABLE 2

RURAL - URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION
MISSISSIPPI, 1900 - 1970

Year	Total	Urban Number	%	Rural Number	%
1970	2,216,912	986,642	44.5	1,230,270	55.4
1960	2,178,141	820,805	37.7	1,357,336	62.3
1950	2,178,914	607,162	27.9	1,571,752	72.1

1940	2,183,796	432,882	19.8	1,750,914	80.2
1930	2,009,821	338,850	16.9	1,670,971	83.1
1920	1,790,618	240,121	13.4	1,550,497	86.6
1910	1,797,114	207,311	11.5	1,589,803	88.5
1900	1,551,270	120,035	7.7	1,431,235	92.3

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

1940 was a population benchmark for Mississippi in several respects. It marked the State's population peak prior to 1970 (Table 2). The nonwhite ratio was almost equal that year (Table 1). Furthermore it was the peak rural population size. Only since 1940 have rural population trends been the inverse of urban trends. Prior to 1940 rural growth accompanied urban growth excepting the decade 1910-1920, and increased substantially as part of the escape-to-the-land trend during the Great Depression.[14] In 1940 the population of only twelve towns in Mississippi exceeded 10,000, and Jackson, the largest of these, had a population of only 62,000.[15]

FIGURE 1

RACIAL COMPOSITION, 1970, AND CHANGE, 1960-1970, MISSISSIPPI

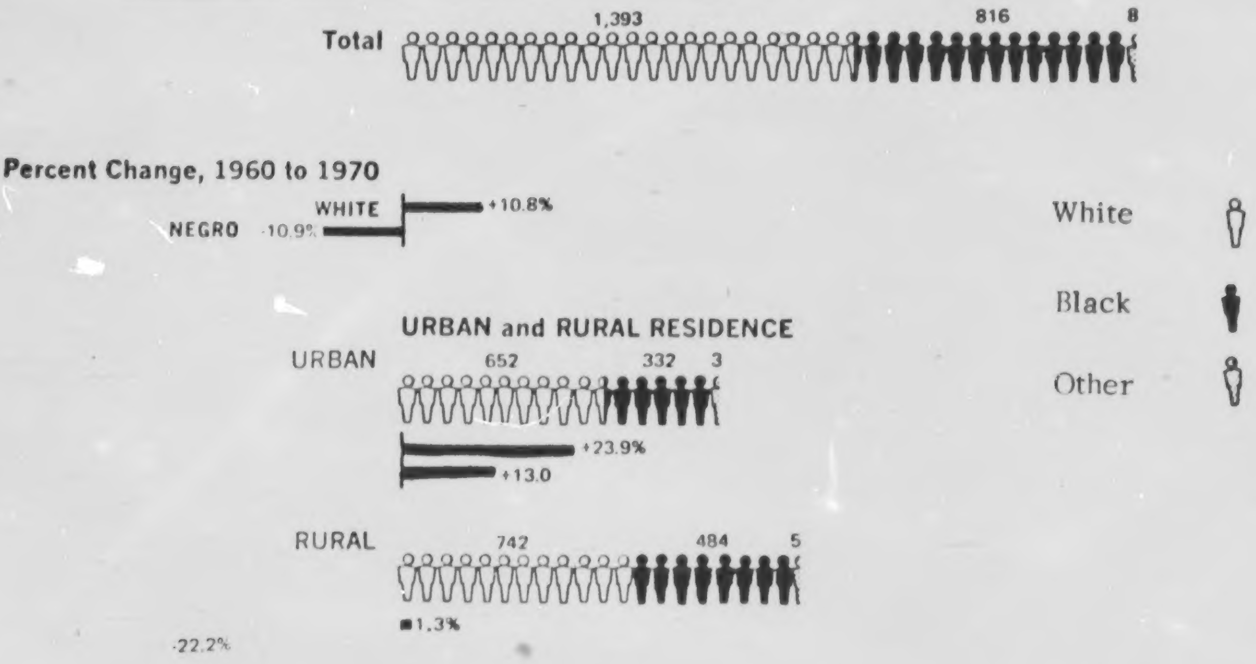


Table 3 and 4 show the distribution of the State's population by residential areas for 1960 and 1970. The State's rural population decreased both in absolute number (-9.4%) and as a percentage of the total population (from 62.3% to 55.5% of the population during 1960 - 1970). Rural places of 1,000-2,000 actually increased (4.4%), while the open country population (described in the census category "other rural ") decreased by 11%.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF INHABITANTS, 1960 AND 1970, PERCENTAGE CHANGE, AND PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1960 AND 1970

AREA	Number		Percentage	Proportion of Total	
	1960	1970		1960	1970
Urban	821	987	+20.2%	37.7%	44.5%
Places of 10,000 +	144	154	+6.6%	17.6%	15.6%
25,000 - 100,000	257	291	+13.1%	31.3%	29.5%
2,000 - 25,000	416	517	+24.3%	50.7%	52.4%
Other Urban	3	25	+707.8%	0.4%	2.5%
Rural	1.357	1,230	-9.4%	62.3%	55.5%

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Mississippi's 1970 SMSA's experienced rapid growth during the 1960s (110.4%), increasing from 8.6% of the State's population in 1960 to 17.7% in 1970. While the central cities of Mississippi's SMSA's grew by 68.4%, they declined in terms of proportion of the total population (from 77.2% in 1960 to 61.8% in 1970). However, areas outside of the central cities increased from 22.8% of the population in 1960 to 38.2% in 1970.

Even with the metropolitan population approaching one-fifth of the total in 1970 (with Jackson containing one out of five urban Mississippians) the State's population remained much more dispersed than the national average. Some 69% of the U.S. population in 1970 resided in a metropolitan area, considerably more than the Mississippi population.

Perhaps as much as anything this differential shows the salubriously small size of Mississippi's urban centers which have not become sufficiently populated to be included in the SMSA concept. The Biloxi-Gulfport area did not become a SMSA until 1970, while Jackson has been a SMSA since the concept first appeared in decennial census reports in in 1950.[16]

TABLE 4

METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI, 1960 - 1970

AREA	Number		Percentage Change	Proportion of Total	
	1960	1970		1960	1970
SMSAs[1] (metro)	187	393	+110.4%	8.6%	17.7%
Central Cities	144	243	+68.4%	77.2%	61.8%
Suburbs[2]	43	150	+252.5%	22.8%	38.2%
NonMetro	1.991	1.823	-8.4%	91.4%	82.3%

[1] Biloxi-Gulfport, Jackson.

[2] Population of Hinds, Rankin, and Harrison Counties not in legal boundaries of Biloxi, Gulfport, or Jackson.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Rural Population Changes

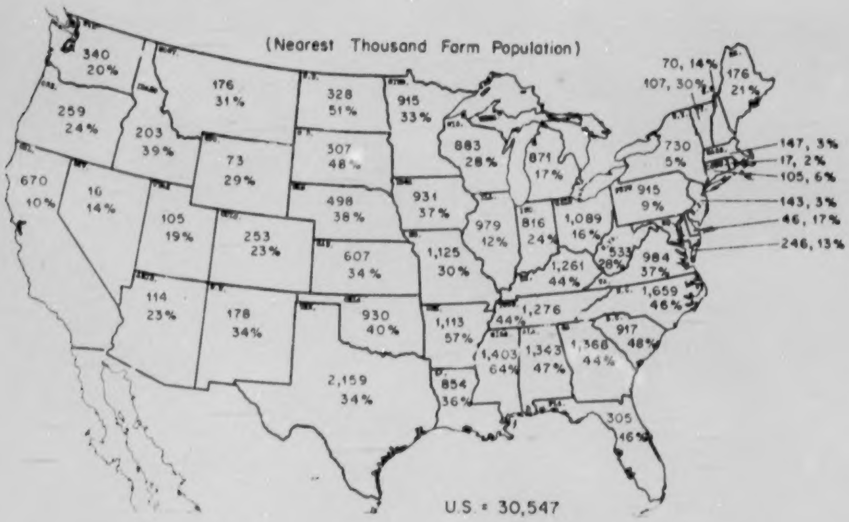
Not only has there been an actual and comparative decline of the rural population, but there has been a dramatic shift in the makeup of the rural population itself. Most of the rural population is now nonfarm. As late as 1950 half of the Mississippi population lived on farms. The out-movement[17] from agriculture has been a major factor in the relocation of large segments of the population. The dramatic decrease in farm residence in Mississippi blankets the entire State. Only three counties decreased by less than 70% in farm population between 1950 and 1970. In some counties the decrease exceeded 90%.

In 1930 some two-thirds of Mississippi's population were farm residents. In the 1930s the farm population increased[18] slightly but slightly decreased as a percentage of the total population. During the 1950s and 1960s the farm popualtion decreased at escalating rates, declining by nearly 60% during 1960-1970. The proportion of persons living on farms decreased from one-half of Mississippi's population in 1950 to 31.2% in 1960 and only 12.5% in 1970.[19]

During 1940-1970 the black farm population of Mississippi decreased by 85%, with a decrease of 63% occurring during the decade of the 1960s.[20]

FIGURE 2

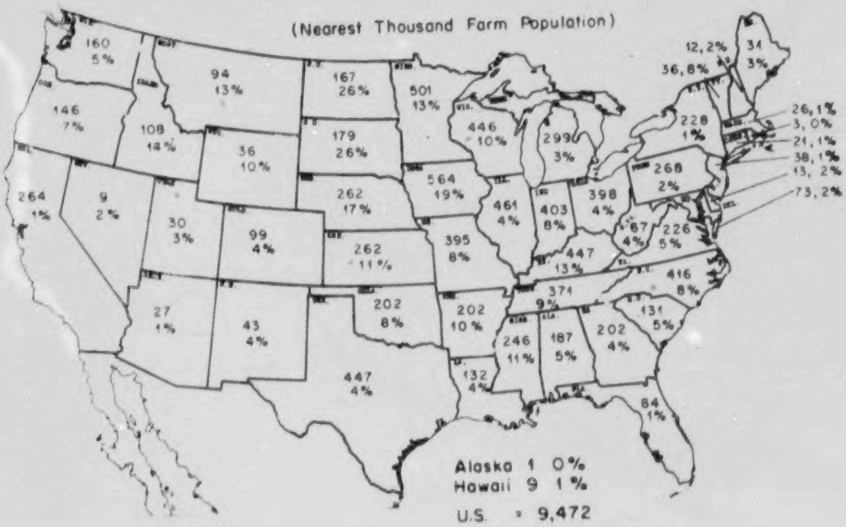
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FARM POPULATION, BY STATE, UNITED STATES, 1940



Source: Frank O. Leuthold and B.R. McManus, "Decline of the U.S. Rural Population," Tennessee Farm and Home Science, Progress Report 95, p. 8.

FIGURE 3

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FARM POPULATION, BY STATE, UNITED STATES, 1973



Source: Same as Figure 2, p. 9.

TABLE 5

NUMERICAL FARM POPULATION, PERCENT OF TOTAL, AND DECENNIAL PERCENTAGE CHANGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1920 - 1970

	Farm Population (thousands)	Percent of Total	Decennial Change (%)
1920	1,288	71.8	---
1930	1,366	68.0	6.1
1940	1,403	64.2	2.7
1950	1,097	50.3	-21.8
1960	680	31.2	-38.0
1970	277	12.5	-59.3

Source: Farm Population Estimates 1910-1970, (Washington: Rural Development Service, U.S.D.A. Statistical Bulletin, 523, July, 1973).

The white farm population decreased by 75% during 1940-1970. The 1960-1970 decrease in Mississippi's white farm population was 37%. Blacks comprised over one-half of the Mississippi farm population in 1940 and 1950. As of 1970 blacks comprised about 42% of the state's farm population.

Mississippi had the highest percentage of farm population (64%) of any State in the republic in 1940 (Figure 2). As of 1973, the estimated proportion of farm population in Mississippi (11%) exceeded that of any other Southern State, but was no longer the nation's highest (Figure 3). During 1940-1975 the proportion of farm population to the U.S. total population decreased from circa 23% to circa 4.5%.[21]

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN POPULATION, BY AREA MISSISSIPPI, 1960 - 1970

	Population	
	Number	Percent Change
The State	2,217*	1.8
Urban Total	987	20.2
Urbanized Areas	321	117.4
Central Cities	243	68.4
Urban Fringe	77	2,429.3
Other Urban	666	-1.1

Places of 10,000 or more	434	1.7
Places of 2,500 to 10,000	232	-5.9
Rural Total	1,230	-9.4
Places of 1,000 to 2,500	114	4.4
Other rural	1,114	-10.6
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas		
Biloxi-Gulfport	135	12.6
Jackson	259	17.0
Urbanized Areas		
Biloxi-Gulfport	122	--
Jackson	259	29.9
Memphis, Tennessee- Mississippi	664	21.9

* Rounded

Source: Mississippi Business Review, (March, 1975).

Equally as impressive as the high rates of change in the farm population has been the increase in the rural nonfarm population. All but six counties increased by at least 50%, while in some counties growth in this sector quadrupled.

Growth of the rural nonfarm population incorporates several types of societal changes:

1. Some of the farm loss and rural non-farm increase reflects a change of occupation rather than of residence.

2. Rural nonfarm population must also be seen as containing a component of urban spill or overspread.

3. The latter component reflects a pattern of continuing migration toward areas of urban concentration, and, as well, reflects in some instances a decentralization of central urban centers.[22]

4. The changing pattern reflects a trend toward mixing farm and off-farm occupations and residence. Farmers do not necessarily live on farms; the majority of the employed persons living on farms work at nonfarm occupations.

The changes are of considerable social and political impact.[23] Bryant has put some of these changes into perspective:

> ...the interdependence of town and county has become more than a symbiosis of industries; it has penetrated the household unit and individual breadwinners. The days of a clearly defined farm bloc as well as the community-bounded rural way of life may be over. Industrial interdepend-

> ence has established farm-to-factory commuting and urban types of conveniences for the rural Mississippian. If these kinds of occupational and residence patterns continue...Mississippi may in the future be able to avoid dense urban concentrations which characterize so much of the nation.[24]

Urban growth must be interpreted in terms of its relationship to rural nonfarm trends. While some of the nonfarm growth represents a from town to outlying area movement, it is doubtless overwhelmingly a result of tendencies toward centralization. However, Mississippi, which has a total of 24 urban places of over 100,000 population and 59 towns of 2,500 - 10,000 size, seems to be developing a dispersed urban growth, a trend which is hypothesized as preferable to expanding supercities for future population distribution. In this era of automobile transportation and a constantly expanding highway system, population can be more dispersed residentially but more centrally employed than in the past. Commuting can be substituted for migration, and small cities can have industrial growth in their own right.[25]

Population Change in the 1970s

Population trends during the first half of the 1970s indicate that Mississippi, after four decades of sufficient out-migration to maintain relative population stability, may be facing the specter of growth. Highlights of population change during 1970-1975 included net decreases in the Delta and in highly rural areas outside the Delta. However, some eleven counties in urbanizing areas were beset with increases in excess of 10%. Increases of more than 10% in Hinds, Madison, and Rankin Counties were associated with SMSA expansion. Other counties beset with increases of 10% or more during 1970-1975 were a relatively diffuse cluster, the dominant nuclei of which were Lee County (Tupelo population center), Lafayette County, and Lamar County (where a "suburban type of growth occurred as a result of its location adjacent to Forrest County and the city of Hattiesburg").[26]

The upward trend in white population that began in the 1960s appears to have intensified, while the heavy total out-migration seems to have reversed.

All but one (Lafayette) of the counties which suffered population increases of 10% or more during the first half of the 1970s also increased during the 1960s. Growth in Madison, Marshall, and Desoto counties in the 1960s occured only among whites, while increases were registered for both whites and blacks in the other counties in this group during the 1960s.[27]

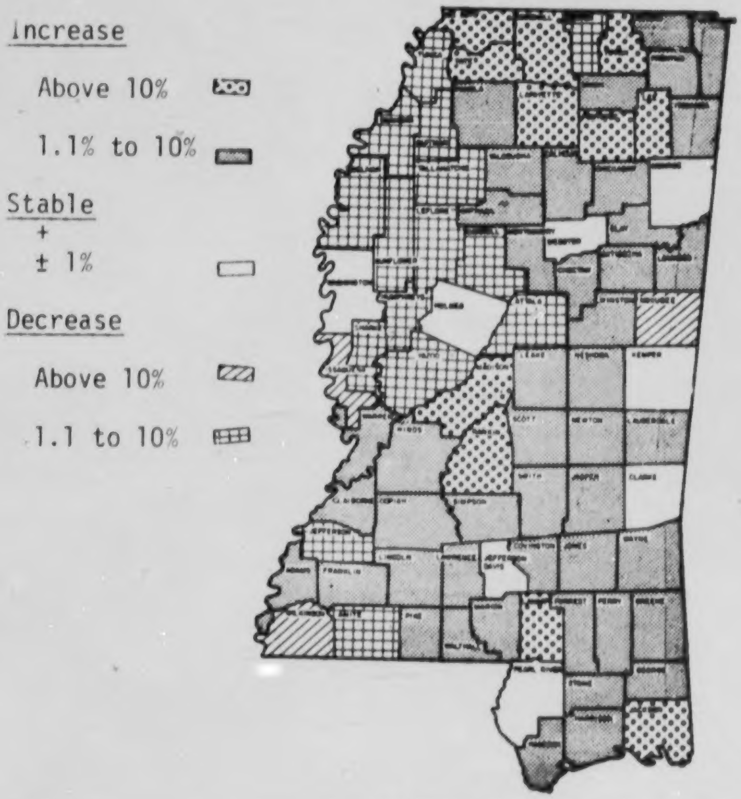
Future Growth

The U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis projects that Mississippi's population will likely increase by close to a quarter of a million by 1990. Extensive growth is anticipated for the State's SMSA's, which are expected to account for two-thirds of the increase. Forecasts by the Environmental Protection Agency predicted an even larger growth for these areas. The prospects for continued urbanization coupled with the previously noted decentralization, are likely to continue into the immediate future.[28]

A large segment of the population has tended to equate growth and expansion with positive benefits. It is only recently that some popular recognition has been given to the thesis that bigness, growth, expansion, is not an unmitigated good, and is not necessarily desirable from a quality of life perspective.[29] Burrus has noted that in its urbanization trend "Mississippi and Mississippians are becoming more like the rest of the nation." He adds a timely caveat that national averages are not necessarily desirable models for aspiration.[30]

FIGURE 4

MAGNITUDE AND DIRECTION OF POPULATION CHANGE, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970 - 1975



Source: Photographically reproduced from MAFES Research Highlights, 40 (February, 1977), p. 2

Population Movement

Population movement is an important ingredient in the population trends and changes of an area and is of fundamental concern in social planning.[31] For example, the affect of population redistribution on the areas of origin and destination as well as on the individual migrant is a basic factor in anti-poverty planning.[32] Consideration of the impact of any particular program must take into account the unanticipated consequences or the serendipitous effect which the program may have in terms of its influence on population movement.[33]

It was noted earlier that Mississippi, despite its high birth rate, suffered only a slight population increase between 1940 and 1970 thanks to net out-movement of population. Table 7 and 8 show the 1960-1970 net migration (difference between in and out migrants) and the net migration rates for Mississippi by age, race, and sex.

The net out-migration from Mississippi during 1960-1970 exceeded 250,000 persons. There was a slight net increase of whites in the population exchange, but an overwhelming loss of nonwhites. However, the estimated population increase in Mississippi for 1970-1975 (129,000) involved a net in-migration of 11,000 persons.[34] White migration seems to have reversed,from a net outflow,during the latter half of the 1950s. The components of change for Mississippi in the 1970s indicate a probable lessening if not a reversal in direction of black movement.[35]

Age groups with the highest out-migration during 1960-1970 were ages 20-24 and25-29. This was true for both races. Whites age 20-24 showed out-migration rates of 4.7% and 14.1% respectively. Rates were higher for white males than for females. The net outflow of nonwhites amounted to more than 50% of each of the above groups. Figure 2 portrays the age specific net rate of the total population for Mississippi 1960-1970.

Sjaastad has suggested that the number of persons moving into Mississippi at the same time larger numbers have been leaving the State is partially due to the heterogeneity of occupations and industries. Out-migrants may be unqualified for jobs in the expanding sectors within the State, while in-migrants may be retiring here due to a relatively "low cost of living or they may be disillusioned out-migrants of previous years.[36]

Colberg suggests that "human capital"[37] has been entering the South, while labor has been leaving, as explanation for the two way migration. That is, the in-migration is over balanced in terms of professional, technical, managerial and proprietary personnel while there is a net out-migration of persons at the other end of the occupational ladder. The two stream movement is also balanced in favor of a surplus of white and a net deficit of black migrants.

TABLE 7

NET MIGRATION, BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Age 1970	Total	Total Male	Female	Total	White Male	Female	Total	Nonwhite Male	Female
All Ages	-260616	-133833	-126783	9044	1821	7223	-269661	-135654	-134007
0- 4	-20186	-10411	-9774	-1601	-766	-835	-18585	-9645	-8939
5- 9	-39913	-20953	-18960	-1298	-1211	-87	-33615	-19743	-18872
10-14	-23488	-10410	-13078	5010	2813	2197	28498	13223	15274
15-19	-25152	-12325	-12826	6362	3690	2672	-31514	-16015	-15499
20-24	-65366	-36045	-29321	-5838	-3526	-2312	-59528	-32519	-27009
25-29	-54574	-36726	-27848	-14947	-10090	-4857	-49627	-26637	-22991
30-34	-17156	-9754	-7402	784	-348	1132	-17940	-9406	-8534
35-39	-4102	-1866	-2237	3341	1609	1732	-7443	-3475	-3968
40-44	-1285	257	-1542	3564	2180	1384	-4849	-1923	-2926
45-49	-3679	-775	-2904	1440	1078	862	-5119	-1853	-3266
50-54	-1324	497	-1821	2270	1466	804	-3593	-969	-2625
55-59	-2759	-457	-2302	1578	1031	546	-4337	-1488	-2848
60-64	3785	2276	1508	3812	2021	1791	27	256	283
64-69	5813	2510	3303	2541	1184	1357	3273	1327	1946
70-74	2926	1949	978	1761	900	861	1166	1049	117
75-79	-4849	-1640	-3205	-662	-303	-359	-4148	-1338	-2846
80-84	-1600	-630	-971	-439	-245	-194	-1161	-384	777
85+	2287	670	1617	1369	338	1031	919	332	586

Source: E. Nolan Waller, *Net Migration for Mississippi's Counties 1960-1970*, (Oxford: University of Mississippi, 1975), p. 10. Estimates of net migration for an area vary somewhat according to the methodology employed. For similar but slightly different calculations of migration in Mississippi for the state population by age and sex, see R. A. Engles, *et al*, *Net Migration in the Southeast 1960-1970*, (Joint publication of Memphis State University and the University of Tennessee, 1973), p. 118, or Gladys K. Bowles, *et al*, *Net Migration of of the Population, 1960 - 1970 By Age, Sex, and Color*, Part 4, *East South Central States* (Athens: University of Georgia Printing Department, 1975), p. 92

TABLE 8

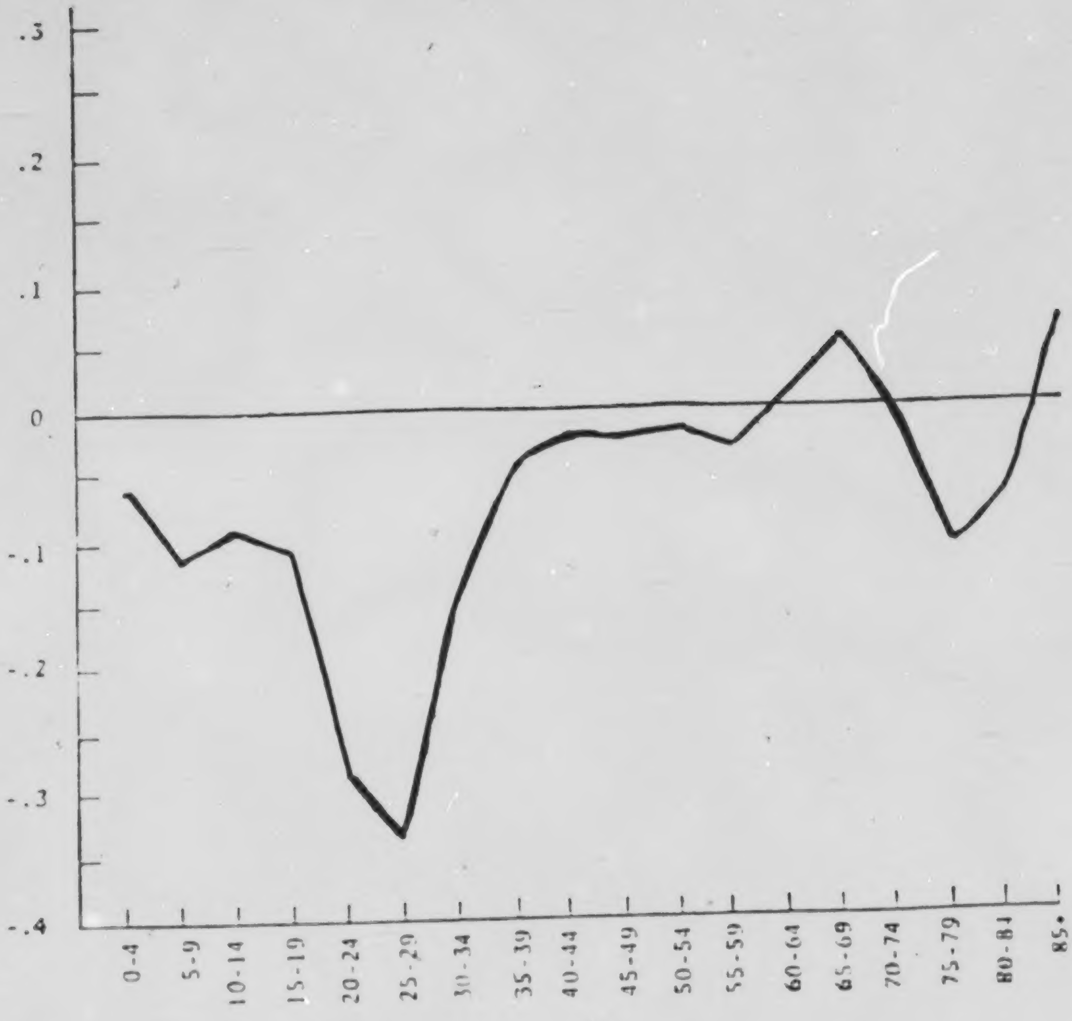
NET MIGRATION, RATE, BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX, MISSISSIPPI, 1960-1970

Age		Total			White			Nonwhite	
1970	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
All Ages	-10.5	-11.1	-10.0	0.7	0.3	1.0	-24.7	-25.8	-23.6
0- 4	-8.8	-8.9	-8.6	-1.4	-1.3	-1.5	-16.0	-16.5	-15.4
5- 9	-14.4	-14.8	-13.9	-1.0	-1.8	-0.1	-26.2	-26.6	-25.8
10-14	-8.5	-9.6	-9.6	3.8	4.2	3.4	-19.8	-18.4	-21.1
15-19	-9.7	-9.5	-10.0	5.1	5.8	4.3	-23.8	-24.1	-23.4
20-24	-27.4	-29.8	-24.9	-4.7	-5.6	-3.8	-51.6	-56.0	-47.1
25-29	-33.5	-37.3	-29.3	-14.1	-18.2	-9.6	-57.3	-61.6	-52.9
30-34	-13.0	-15.2	-11.0	1.0	-0.9	2.8	-35.1	-39.7	-31.2
35-39	-3.6	-3.5	-3.7	4.5	4.4	4.6	-19.4	-20.8	-18.2
40-44	-1.1	0.5	-2.5	4.5	5.8	3.4	-12.8	-12.3	-13.3
45-49	-3.2	-1.5	-4.7	1.8	2.9	0.9	-13.8	-11.9	-15.2
50-54	-1.2	1.0	-3.1	3.1	4.2	2.1	-9.8	-6.1	-12.6
55-59	2.6	-0.9	-4.0	2.3	3.1	1.5	-11.5	-8.8	-13.7
60-64	4.0	5.2	3.0	6.2	7.0	5.4	-0.1	1.7	-1.6
65-69	7.5	7.2	7.8	5.2	5.4	5.0	11.8	10.5	12.9
70-74	5.3	8.2	3.1	4.8	5.8	4.1	6.1	12.6	1.1
75-79	-10.8	-8.8	-12.2	-2.4	-2.8	-2.2	-23.6	-17.4	-28.4
80-84	-6.3	-6.2	-6.4	-2.7	-3.9	-2.0	-12.8	-9.9	-15.0
85+	15.2	11.1	17.9	15.0	9.8	18.1	15.6	12.9	17.6

Source: Same as Table 7.

FIGURE 5

NET MIGRATION RATE, BY AGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1960-1970



Source: Adapted from Engles, Net Migration in the Southeast 1960-1970.

Colberg noted that while several federal laws have been unfavorable to the kind of economic development which would promote the employment[38] of ordinary labor in the South, federal activity in the field of space exploration has been highly favorable to the in-movement of well trained personnel into the region. Federal minimum wage legislation, which

Colberg feels has received its primary support from interests who have sought to reduce competition from southern labor surplus areas, and other hindrances,[39] which have interfered with the price system, are said to have compounded the unemployment problem for displaced workers, particularly blacks, and thus to have fostered wholesale out-migration.

POPULATION COMPOSITION

Migration, as well as fertility behavior, alters the composition of the population of areas. Such demographic features of the population as the racial and age composition are of basic concern to persons concerned with social welfare, economic projections, and, in fact, any area of social and physical planning.[40] The final section of this chapter looks at the racial, age, and sex composition of the population.

Racial Composition of Mississippi's Population

In 1900 the nonwhite population of Mississippi exceeded the white population by nearly 270,000 persons. In 1940 the population ratio was nearly even, with the State having a slightly larger white population (Table 8). The Mississippi population in 1970 was 63% white and 37% black. The nation as a whole was about 88.5% white. The urban population in Mississippi has a larger component of white population than does rural Mississippi. This difference is at least in part the reflection of a tendency for rural blacks to move to cities outside of the South, and is doubtless due to some extent to the fact that in-migrants to Mississippi are more likely to settle in urban areas.[41]

Mississippi's white popuation increased by some 135,000 persons during the decade of the 1960s. Approximately 126,000 of this increase can be attributed to natural increase and circa 9,000 to in-migration. The net in-migration of white population during the 1960s was the first time this has occured in this century.[42]

The nonwhite population, as previously noted, continued the pattern of heavy out-migration. The migration loss of nonwhite population during the 1960s was 277,000. There was a net loss of about 100,000. The natural increase of the nonwhite population (180,000) was actually greater than the white natural increase, though the overall nonwhite population showed a net decrease of nearly 100,000 persons.

Age Trends

Mississippi's under 5 population decreased by -24.7% and the age 5-14 group decreased by -2.3%. The national birth rate began declining from the post-war "baby boom" in 1957. The large increase in persons 15-24 reflects the high fertility levels in the decade after the war. Although complicated by migration, the slight decline in the population

TABLE 9

PERCENT OF POPULATION, BY RACE, UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI, 1890 - 1970

	United States				Mississippi			
	Total		Urban		Total		Urban	
Year	White	Black	Whtie	Black	White	Black	White	Black
1890	87.5	11.9	--	--	42.2	57.8	51.08	48.8*
1900	87.9	11.6	93.1	6.6	41.3	58.5	52.58	47.4*
1910	88.9	10.7	93.4	6.4	43.7	56.2	53.94	46.0
1920	89.7	9.99	93.2	6.6	47.7	52.2	58.89	41.1
1930	89.8	9.7	92.2	7.5	49.7	50.2	60.40	39.5
1940	89.8	9.8	91.3	8.4	50.7	49.2	58.80	41.1
1950	89.5	10.0	89.9	9.7	54.6	45.3	61.65	38.2
1960	88.8	10.6	88.4	11.1	57.7	42.0	64.07	35.8
1970	87.5	11.1	86.2	12.3	62.8	36.8	66.1	33.6

*Includes all nonwhite population.

Source: John N. Burrus, Urbanization in Mississippi 1890-1970 in R.A. McLemore (ed.), A History of Mississippi, Vol. II (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), p. 369.

age 25-44 coincides with the decrease in the birth rates in the 1930s.

Impact on the Labor Force

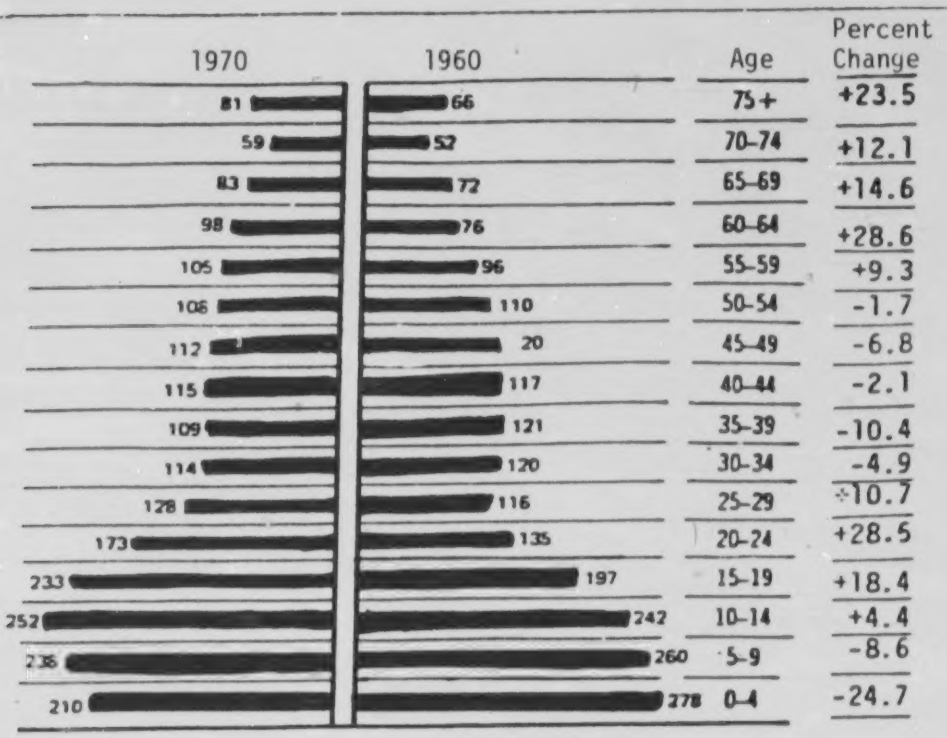
In 1970, Mississippi had 485,000 children between ten and twenty years of age. There were an additional 238 million children age five to nine. It is from this age group that the largest impact on the labor force will be made. About two-thirds of the population age 10-25 at any given time may be expected to be looking for work within the ensuing decade.[43] Persons in this age bracket composed 21.9% of Mississippi's population in 1970, which was the highest of any Southern state. The population age 55-59 in Mississippi totaled 105,000. The rough estimate of needed jobs for the 1970s was well in excess of 300,000. According to Hammon the alternative is to develop new jobs at a faster rate than heretofore or face the specter of severe unemployment and increased welfare rolls.[44]

Sex Ratio

The sex ratio is the number of males per 100 females. Mississippi's

FIGURE 6

POPULATION BY AGE, AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE
MISSISSIPPI, 1960-1970

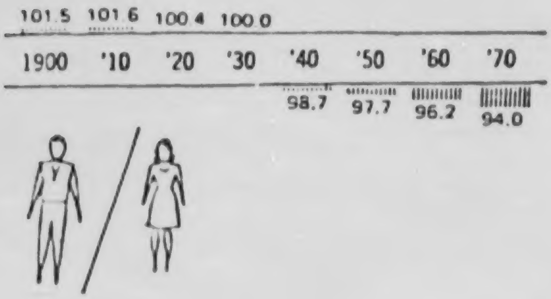


Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970 General Population Characteristics, PC(1)-B26, Mississippi.

sex ratio, which stood at 100 in 1930, had declined to 94.0 by 1970 (Figure 6). The sex ratio is approximately 106 at birth and declines with progressive increases in age. For example, for age 65 and over the 1970 sex ratio in Mississippi was 62.9. Within older age brackets the sex ratio may highlight major welfare problems, such as poverty (which is highest among aged persons living alone), or a need for assistance in transportation, or even basic human interaction. The problem of aged women without husbands is reflected in the sex ratio since men tend to marry younger women, but male life expectancy is somewhat less than that of females.

FIGURE 7

SEX RATIO, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

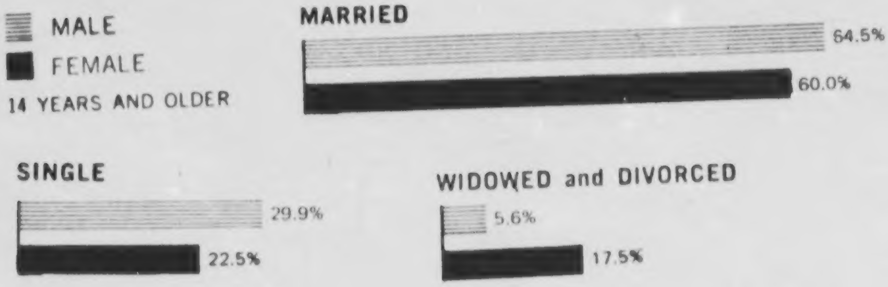


Source: Same as Figure 6.

Figure 8 shows the martial status of the Mississippi population age 14 and over. A larger proportion of males than females are both single and married. This seeming paradox is explained by the fact that circa three times as large a proportion of women have experienced a marital dissolution via death or divorce without achieving a subsequent marital connection.

FIGURE 8

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION BY MARITAL STATUS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970



Source: Same as Figure 8.

SUMMARY

In this century Mississippi has changed from one-crop economy dominated by cotton to a diversified agricultural, manufacturing, and service economy. The percentage of urban population is increasing relative to rural population, and the percentage of white population is increasing relative to black. Although an area of extensive out-migration in recent decades, Mississippi became a net receiving area for white migrants during the 1960s. However, Mississippi continued to be characterized by a sufficiently heavy net out-movement of blacks that there was a deficit in the net exchange of population with other areas. During the first half of the 1970s Mississippi became a net receiving area in the exchange of migrants with other States.

1. Which perhaps seemed less ancient in Mississippi than anywhere else.

2. Charles R. Boland, The Impossible Era: The South Since World War II (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975).

3. John R. Skates, "Modern Period," in Ralph D. Cross, et al, (eds.) Atlas of Mississippi (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1974) p. 49; Skates, "World War II and Its Effects 1940-1948," in R.A. McLemore (ed.), A History of Mississippi 1973), pp. 120-139.

4. Ralph D. Cross, "Introduction," Atlas of Mississippi, p. 1.

5. Larry Whatley, "The Works Progress Administration in Mississippi," Journal of Mississippi History. 30 (February, 1968), pp. 37-38.

6. Perhaps indicative of this uniqueness has been the popularity of Mississippi among literators for travel accounts, reminiscences, and anecdotes both by indigenous absconding and itinerant authors, evidencing an interest in a market for descriptive and critical Mississippiana. A similar fascination for the State has been displayed by scholars who have made forays into the State to report its customs, culture, and style of life in community studies. To be in or of Mississippi has been to partake of something sufficiently distinct to make it of sufficient interest to record and distribute, albeit the image has been uniformly derogatory and unfavorable as viewed from the rurality, ostentacious Biblicality, quaintness, backwardness, racial duality, belligerency, rascality, and provincialism (ranging from beliefs about governmental functions and organization to homogenous population characteristics) . The persistance of themes, patterns, and institutional practices which the national experience had by passed decades earlier has made Mississippiana reportable and thus of intense concern, focus, curia, and clouded image to the outside world.

7. Per capita value of the products of industrial workers was estimated at ten times that of workers in agriculture and other extractive industries. John Van Sickle, Mississippi Population Trends and Their Implications (Jackson: Mississippi Board of Development, 1941), pp. 90-91.

8. During the two decade period 1948-1968 acreages of cotton and corn in Mississippi were sharply reduced, but in 1968 Mississippi produced about 11 million more bushels of wheat, 288 million pounds more rice, 25 million more pounds of watermelons,

229 thousand tons more hay, and 2 million pounds more pecans than in 1948. In 1968 there was produced in Mississippi about 470 million pounds more beef, 676 million pounds more broilers, and 2 billion more eggs than in 1948. Mississippi Economic Council, *Mississippi's Agricultural Economy* (Jackson: MEC, n.d.), p.2.

9. J.E. Fortenberry, *Cleavage in Mississippi Politics* (Oxford: University of Mississippi, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1966); David B. Ogle, *Strengthening the Mississippi Legislature* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1971) p.4.

10. Monroe Billington, *The Political South in The Twentieth Century* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), p. 125. For an excellent discussion of the factors producing an atmosphere favorable to improving the status of blacks -- emergent consideration of poor blacks in the South in the 1930s, World War II, and the "new situation in national politics"--see Billington's chapters "White Politicians and Black Civil Rights" and "The Black Revolution," *Ibid.*, pp. pp. 81-130.

11. Robert Highsaw and C.N. Fortenberry, *The Governmental and Administration of Mississippi* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1954), p. 11.

12. Skates, *Atlas of Mississippi*, p. 49.

13. Cross, p. 1.

14. Ellen S. Bryant, "State Population Sets New Trends," *Mississippi Farm Research*, 12 (December, 1971), p. 4.

15. V.O. Key, *Southern Politics* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1950) p. 232.

16. John N. Burrus, "Urbanization in Mississippi 1890-1970," in a *History of Mississippi*, pp. 346-372.

17. For general discussion of this process, see Business Research Council, *Flight from the Soil* (University: Univ. of Alabama, Business Review, 1958); A.W. Baird and W.C. Bailey, *Farmers Moving Out of Agriculture* (State College, Miss.: Sociology and Rural Life Bulletin 568); A.G. Ball and E.O. Heady (eds.), *Size, Structure and Future of Farms* (Ames: Iowa St. University Press, 1972); J.L. Charlton, "Farm People on the Move," *Arkansas Agricultural Economist*, 3 (1961); Gladys Bowles, *Migration of Population in the South: Situation and Prospects* (Washington: U.S.D.A., Agricultural Marketing Service, 1958); P.H. Brown and J. Peterson, "The Exodus from Arkansas," *Arkansas Agricultural Economist*, 2 (Winter, 1960).

pp. 10-15; J. Daivs "Texas Population Shifts from Rural to Urban," *Texas A & M College Agriculturist*, 10 (March, 1952), 13, 24.

18. "For the farmer the Depression ...became more intense during the 1930s...few could sell their products for enough to pay costs -- at a time when much of the population was hungry... However, the farmer could usually raise sufficient food to have a full table -- which meant he was better appreciated by his city kin, many of whom moved back to the land..." J.A. Carroll and O. Faulk, *Home of the Brave: A Patriot's Guide to American History* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1976), p. 337.

19. The 1970 census count showed the Mississippi farm population to compose 9.5% of the total. 1970 *Census of Population*, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 26, Mississippi (January, 1973), p. 26-149.

20. The out-migration of blacks from rural Mississippi 1930-1950 was largely composed of tenants and sharecroppers. B.W. Harris, *Population Changes Among Rural Negroes in Mississippi* (Lorman, MS.: Alcorn A&M College, Dept. of Economics, 1956). Cf.: Harold A. Petersen, *Migration From Mississippi* (State College: Miss. St. Univ. AES Information Sheet 536, 1956); "Migration From State Shown in Plantation Study," *Mississippi Farm Research*, 16 (December, 1953), pp. 1, 4, 7-8; Population Prospects for the Delta (State College: Miss. St. Univ. AES Information Sheet 470, 1952); Ellen S. Bryant and George L. Wilber, *Mississippi Farms and Farmers: Changes Since 1950* (State College: Miss. St. Univ. AES Information Sheet 709, 1961); George L. Wilber and C. Robbins, *Estimated Population Trends in Mississippi, 1950-1960* (State College: Miss. St. Univ. AES Bulletin 577, 1959).

21. Frank O. Leuthold and B. R. McManus, "Decline of the U.S. Rural Population," *Tennessee Farm and Home Science*, 95 (July, August, Sept., 1975), p. 8.

22. For example, the Hinds County population decreased slightly (-0.6%) between 1970 and 1974, although the Jackson SMSA increased by 2.7% in this time due to an 18.7% increase of population in Rankin County. This likely represents an increased centralization of residents in the metropolitan area (the estimated net migration rate for Rankin County in this period was 28.9) coupled with an out-movement of residents from the Jackson central city area.

23. Fortenberry and Abney have observed that industrialization "brought such prosperity to the small farmers in the hills"

it resulted in attitudinal changes which were near reversals of the Populist orientations of past generations. Among the changes resulting from the desire for a better economic way of life through industry payrolls cited are support for anti-union and other attitudes favorable for meeting industry's demands. Op. cit., 518-519. Not the least of the behavioral changes resulting from the desire for economic prosperity through growth was its effect on official attitudes on racial issues. Fortenberry and Abney, pp. 518-519. Repeal of the laws restricting land-holding by large corporations illustrated the reversal of the anti-industrialist conviction of the State's political leaders in the Populist era. Rogers notes that nature and conservation practices could to a degree remedy forest depletion and declining land productivity. However,

> ...what could not be easily changed was the grinding poverty of marginal agriculture and of low-paying jobs. The waste in human resources was the real tragedy. Having once discovered that industrial payrolls spent well, many Mississippians clamored for more...That spark has been fanned into flames in recent years, bolstered by the new research methods and techniques of modern society.

Ralph J. Rogers, "The Effort to Industrialize," in A History of Mississippi, p. 249.

24. Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Nonfarming Population: A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950 to 1970, (State University: MAFES Bulletin 809, 1974), p. 14.

25. Bryant, "State Population Sets New Trends," p. 5.

26. Ellen S. Bryant and Ella Keller, "Mississippi's Population Increases," MAFES Research Highlights, 40 (February, 1977), pp. 1-2.

27. Ibid.

28. Rose Rubin, "Urbanization in Mississippi," Mississippi Business Review, (March, 1975).

29. Apparent in the sense that statements suggesting the wisdom of a moratorium on population and economic growth has been heard in the public arena. The boomer expansionist philosophy that equated growth, in rather than out-migration, urbanization, and industrialization as inherently desirable and regarded questioning of the expansionist philosophy as anti-progressive if not obscenely heretical has been the dominant

voice among business interest and official circles since at least the decline of the populist movement. However, other views have always been held in certain traditions. Notable in this regard are the decentralization and self-sufficient communal movements as advocated by Ralph Borsodi and among the Fugitive Agrarians, prominent in literary circles in the late 1920s and 1930s. For a review of this tradition, see the section "The Revival of Agrarianism," by Clarence H. Danhof, "Four Decades of Thought on the South's Economic Problems," in Melvin Greenhut and W. Whitman (ecs.). Essays in Economic Development (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), pp. 12-14.

30. Burrus, p. 365.

31. Accumulating data has challenged the impressionistic thesis that poor rural-urban South-North migrants comprise the majority of poor persons in Northern slums or that they are a primary causative factor in contemporary urban pathologies. Daniel I. Price and Melanie M. Sikes, Rural-Urban Migration Research in the United States (Washington: USPGO,n.d.); S. H. Masters, A Study of Socioeconomic Mobility Among Urban Negroes (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ.) Final Report Submitted to the OEO, OEO Contract B99-4790, 1970; Richard F. Wertheimer Rural-To-Urban Migration: Implications for Government Policy (Research Memorandum for the Office of Economic Opportunity, Sept. 15, 1967).

32. A.L. Bacon, "Poverty Among Interregional Rural to Urban Migrants" Rural Sociology, 36 (June, 1971), pp. 125-140.

33. For discussion of the contradictions in programs and policies as they relate to rural-urban migration,see Donald Schon, Rural Poverty in the United States, (Washington: USPGO, 1968), pp. 367-287.

34. Current Population Reports, "Population Estimates," Series P-26, No. 75-24,p.3.

35. Bryant and Keller.

36. Larry A. Szaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration," Journal of Political Economy, (October, 1961), p. 82.

37. In assessing the regional allocation of human capital Colberg considers elementary education a component of labor, and high school and subsequent education a component of human capital. Marshall Colberg, Human Capital in Southern Development (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), p. 24. Educational, vocational, and guidance programs have been suggested in lagging areas to increase "the quality and also mobility potential of the labor force in redevelopment areas in order to promote adjustment through out-migration." Niles Hansen, "Regional Development and the Rural Poor," Journal

of Human Resources, 4 (Spring,1969), pp. 205-214.

38. Colberg, among others, contends that it is Northern that have have borne much of the ultimate burden of unemployment among poorly educated migrants from the South. Human Capital, p. 124.

39. One example is the "anti-pirating" provisions of the Area Redevelopment and Small Business Administration Acts designed to prevent movement of a plant from a prosperous to a truly depressed area. Another is the SBA distressed areas program which allows loans at discriminating interest rates to firms located in "areas of substantial unemployment. Since these areas are generally in the North and West, low income rural areas in the South do not have a similar influence in securing preferential SBA rates. To say the least," according to Colberg, "various federal laws which affect economic development are frequently inconsistent and partially self-defeating." Ibid., pp. 117, 124.

40.. Kenneth W. Hollman, Mississippi's Population, (1960-1970): General Characteristics, (Oxford: University of Mississippi, 1971), p. 2.

41. For general discussion of the nonwhite urbanization movement, see Paul F. Coe, "Nonwhite Population Increases in Metropolitan Areas," Journal of the American Statistical Association 50 (June, 1955), pp. 283-308; "The Nonwhite Population Surge to Our Cities," Land Economics, 35 (August, 1959), 195-210; Calvin L. Beale, "Rural-Urban Migration of Blacks: Past and Future," Journal of Agricultural Economics, 53 (May, 1971), pp. 302-307; Daniel O. Price, "Urbanization of Blacks," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 48 (April, 1970), pp. 47-58; C. Horace Hamilton, "The Negro Leaves the South," Demography, 1 (1964); pp. 273-295; J. Himes, "Some Characteristics of the Migration of Blacks in the U.S.," Paper presented at annual meeting of the Population Association of America, 1971; Reynolds Fairly, "The Urbanization of Negroes in the United States," Journal of Social History, 1 (Spring, 1968), pp. 241-258; C. Horace Hamilton, "The Negro Leaves the South," Demography, 1 (1964), pp. 273-294; John F. Hart, "Negro Migration in the United States," Annals of the American Association of Geographers, 48 (Spring, 1958), pp. 268-275; Daniel O. Price, "Urbanization of the Blacks," 48 (April, 1970), pp. 47-58; Richard Raymond, "Determinants of Non-White Migration During the 1950s," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 31 (January, 1972), 9-20; K. and A. Tauber, "The Changing Character of Negro Migration," American Journal of Sociology, 70 (January, 1965), pp. 429-441.

42. Ellen S. Bryant, Net Migration in Mississippi, 1950 to 1960 (State College: Mississippi AES, 1961), pp. 5, 9; George L. Wilber , Mississippi Population, (Paper prepared for Special Committee on Economic Blueprint, Mississippi Economic Council, 1962), pp. 1-3.

43. Ross W. Hammon, *Economic Development Trends in the 16-State South*, (Atlanta: Engineering Experiment Station, Industrial Development Division, Georgia Institute of Technology, 1972) p. 17.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

CHAPTER 4

COUNTY DATA PROFILES

The purpose of this section to provide a wide range of data on a county and, in some instances, on an other local entity basis which can be of use for persons who need information from various population and economic data. This section presents sufficient data on a county basis so that, in most instances, a CAP Form 5 can be completed without resort to other documents.

Good planning is an important ingredient in the success of Community Action Programs. Specific social, demographic, and economic data are essential in identifying the needs of poor people and in formulating plans that can be addressed to target groups. Consequently, the Community Services Administration requires that applications for Community Action Programs provide the latest data available on the incidence of poverty and related area characteristics.

In addition to the general social and economic characteristics in the first five tables, this chapter provides county breakdowns on the number and percent of poor persons and families, components of population change, the aged population, ethnic distribution, housing data, educational data, labor force data, mortality and natality statistics, welfare, income, and agricultural data.

The last two tables give the monthly coupon alottment and purchase requirements for the food stamp program and the CSA poverty guidelines.

TABLE 1: GENERAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, SPECIFIED AREAS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

The State Size of Place Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas Urbanized Areas Places of 2,500 or More Counties	Population										Households		
	All persons							Persons 14 years and over – Percent married		Persons 18 years and over – Percent male			
	Number	Percent change 1960–70	Percent Negro and other races	Percent under 18 years	Percent 18 to 64 years	Percent 65 years and over	Fertility ratio[1]	Male	Female		Number	Percent change 1960–70	Persons per household
Mississippi----	**2 216 912**	**1.8**	**37.2**	**38.1**	**51.9**	**10.0**	**412**	**64.5**	**60.0**	**47.0**	**636 724**	**12.1**	**3.39**
SIZE OF PLACE													
Urban	986 642	20.2	33.9	36.1	54.6	9.4	377	64.3	57.8	46.0	296 956	27.3	3.19
Urbanized areas	320 592	117.4	28.0	36.5	56.6	6.8	367	63.6	61.2	48.3	93 309	125.1	3.27
Central cities	243 245	68.4	31.2	34.4	57.8	7.8	346	61.0	58.9	58.4	72 607	78.5	3.15
Urban fringe	77 347	2429.3	17.8	43.1	53.0	4.0	432	73.0	69.4	47.9	20 702	2537.2	3.69
Other urban	666 050	-1.1	36.8	35.9	53.6	10.6	382	64.6	56.3	44.9	203 647	6.2	3.15
Places of 10,000 or more	433 817	1.7	37.8	35.9	54.1	10.0	378	64.6	56.0	44.7	132 983	9.8	3.15
Places of 2,500 to 10,000	232 233	-5.9	35.0	35.8	52.6	11.6	390	64.7	57.0	45.3	70 664	–	3.16
Rural	1 230 270	-9.4	39.7	39.7	49.8	10.6	445	64.7	61.9	47.9	339 768	1.5	3.57
Places of 1,000 to 2,500	116 017	4.4	40.2	36.6	51.6	11.8	415	62.7	56.5	45.9	34 900	6.2	3.21
Other rural	1 114 253	-10.6	39.7	40.0	49.6	10.4	448	65.0	62.5	48.2	304 868	1.0	3.61
STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS													
Biloxi–Gulfport	134 582	12.6	17.5	35.8	57.4	6.8	385	58.5	65.0	53.2	37 488	21.0	3.30
Jackson	258 906	17.0	37.4	37.0	55.1	7.9	360	65.7	58.6	45.5	74 432	28.0	3.33
URBANIZED AREAS													
Biloxi–Gulfport	121 601	...	18.9	35.8	57.5	6.7	390	57.6	64.9	53.6	33 803	...	3.28
Jackson	190 060	28.9	35.1	36.7	56.2	7.2	349	67.4	58.5	44.8	57 128	37.8	3.24
Memphis, Tenn.–Miss.	663 976	21.9	37.3	36.4	55.3	8.3	348	66.5	59.2	45.4	200 445	28.1	3.26
PLACES OF 2,500 OR MORE													
Aberdeen	6 157	-4.5	41.2	37.6	50.5	11.9	408	67.3	57.0	43.7	1 976	-0.1	3.10
Amory	7 236	11.8	23.9	33.7	54.3	11.9	372	72.2	61.7	44.2	2 387	17.8	3.02
Batesville	3 796	15.6	18.3	34.0	55.8	10.1	382	70.0	64.4	45.9	1 224	26.8	3.08
Bay St. Louis	6 752	33.1	21.2	37.2	51.7	11.1	427	61.4	58.3	47.3	1 998	42.8	3.30
Belzoni	3 146	-24.0	61.1	38.0	48.1	13.9	497	66.1	52.4	40.7	1 034	-14.8	3.04
Biloxi	48 486	10.1	14.4	30.2	63.0	6.7	368	47.6	64.4	60.2	12 604	24.9	3.12
Booneville	5 895	69.4	15.3	30.6	55.8	13.6	361	69.9	56.2	43.9	2 012	72.0	2.86
Brandon	2 685	(NA)	25.8	38.0	55.4	6.6	397	73.0	65.3	46.5	813	(NA)	3.28
Brookhaven	10 700	8.2	37.9	36.3	52.3	11.3	409	67.8	56.6	43.8	3 387	15.8	3.10
Canton	10 503	8.2	56.7	39.9	49.0	11.1	463	63.9	54.8	43.3	2 972	12.6	3.46
Carthage	3 031	(NA)	22.5	33.6	54.8	11.6	355	74.6	61.8	44.9	1 040	(NA)	2.91
Charleston	2 821	11.6	51.6	35.8	46.9	17.3	393	65.0	50.1	42.2	950	16.7	2.95
Clarksdale	21 673	2.7	54.6	40.5	48.1	11.4	448	64.0	54.4	42.7	6 559	7.3	3.28
Cleveland	13 327	31.0	37.8	35.5	56.9	7.7	384	58.0	53.4	46.3	3 574	34.3	3.40
Clinton	7 246	110.8	9.1	32.9	62.3	4.9	270	62.7	58.2	47.4	1 905	132.3	3.32
Columbia	7 587	6.6	28.1	35.1	53.1	11.8	402	69.7	57.9	43.8	2 452	11.8	3.06
Columbus	25 795	4.1	37.9	34.4	56.1	9.5	306	66.4	47.8	39.6	7 734	13.0	3.10
Columbus Base (U)	4 074	...	7.8	39.5	60.3	0.2	549	50.8	88.3	66.7	808	...	4.01
Corinth	11 581	1.1	19.4	31.0	55.1	13.9	341	71.6	59.3	44.0	4 020	7.9	2.86
Crystal Springs	4 180	-7.0	43.6	35.5	50.3	14.2	378	66.0	54.3	43.1	1 352	0.1	3.09
D'Iberville (U)	7 288	142.5	0.1	45.0	51.2	3.9	454	73.4	73.6	49.7	1 924	152.5	3.79
Drew	2 574	(NA)	47.0	38.7	48.1	13.2	442	61.5	55.4	44.1	779	(NA)	3.28
Durant	2 752	5.2	48.9	35.1	49.7	15.2	431	67.5	55.6	42.9	900	9.5	3.04
Ellisville	4 643	1.1	24.3	27.4	61.9	10.7	223	42.0	42.3	47.7	1 021	9.8	3.01
Forest	4 085	4.3	35.0	36.4	53.3	10.4	355	68.9	61.8	45.3	1 292	12.9	3.14
Fulton	2 899	(NA)	9.9	31.6	57.4	11.0	319	71.9	62.1	46.5	892	(NA)	3.09
Greenville	39 648	-4.5	52.5	41.0	49.9	9.1	462	64.8	56.8	44.4	11 442	-0.4	3.44
Greenwood	22 400	9.6	50.4	37.9	50.7	11.4	416	66.3	55.1	42.8	7 077	15.0	3.14
Grenada	9 944	25.7	43.7	36.0	51.7	12.4	415	69.0	56.4	43.1	3 164	28.7	3.07
Gulfport	40 791	35.1	18.7	35.0	57.2	7.8	347	63.7	63.5	49.3	12 441	45.7	3.17
Hattiesburg	38 277	9.4	29.1	30.8	59.7	9.5	301	58.0	50.8	45.3	11 703	18.8	2.97
Hazlehurst	4 577	34.6	57.3	38.8	47.7	13.4	426	62.9	52.4	43.6	1 352	30.5	3.35
Hollandale	3 260	23.2	71.0	45.2	42.9	12.0	553	57.4	50.0	41.9	892	18.3	3.65
Holly Springs	5 728	1.9	59.5	36.2	54.3	9.5	332	56.7	47.6	43.7	1 506	11.5	3.50
Houston	2 720	5.5	26.3	34.9	52.3	12.8	333	70.3	59.6	44.3	901	14.2	3.01
Indianola	8 947	33.3	56.4	40.9	48.2	10.8	473	67.3	55.9	44.1	2 539	32.9	3.49
Jackson	153 968	6.6	39.8	35.6	56.3	8.1	340	66.1	56.3	44.1	47 562	17.0	3.15
Kosciusko	7 266	6.9	36.7	33.3	52.1	14.6	380	68.3	58.1	44.4	2 434	17.8	2.97
Laurel	24 145	-13.4	37.0	35.0	53.1	11.9	348	67.3	57.3	44.1	7 768	-3.1	3.07
Leland	6 000	-4.7	57.2	41.1	47.0	11.9	461	64.3	56.8	43.6	1 784	0.2	3.34
Lexington	2 756	-2.9	52.0	37.4	47.5	15.1	443	64.4	52.4	41.9	894	0.4	3.08
Long Beach	6 170	29.4	4.9	37.6	55.3	7.2	305	73.1	61.1	43.7	1 761	29.0	3.37
Louisville	6 626	30.8	38.4	35.2	53.0	11.9	374	70.5	60.3	44.7	2 144	41.4	3.07
McComb	11 969	-0.4	33.4	33.9	51.5	14.6	364	66.5	54.5	42.7	4 007	5.7	2.95
Macon	2 612	(NA)	46.5	37.4	48.5	14.0	423	66.4	55.0	43.3	847	(NA)	3.08
Magee	2 973	(NA)	16.5	36.6	52.2	11.2	397	72.7	62.8	45.1	938	(NA)	3.17
Marks	2 609	1.4	59.0	39.9	47.0	13.2	497	64.9	55.1	43.0	780	-1.1	3.30
Meridian	45 083	-8.7	33.7	32.6	55.3	12.1	343	66.9	55.8	43.4	14 829	0.4	2.94
Morton	2 672	(NA)	28.4	38.8	52.4	8.8	397	71.4	65.4	47.4	765	(NA)	3.48
Moss Point	19 321	191.4	43.4	44.1	51.3	4.6	513	70.0	66.3	47.9	5 040	188.0	3.81
Natchez	19 704	-17.2	50.6	36.7	51.6	11.7	373	63.1	52.1	43.1	6 298	-7.4	3.10
New Albany	6 426	24.8	24.1	33.1	53.3	13.6	398	74.2	61.9	44.3	2 141	29.8	2.96
Newton	3 556	11.9	36.7	33.1	53.8	13.1	346	65.5	54.5	43.1	1 104	16.9	3.04
Ocean Springs	9 580	90.6	8.4	43.4	51.5	5.1	419	73.8	69.5	47.0	2 668	87.6	3.59
Okolona	3 002	14.5	35.2	34.4	51.8	13.8	422	67.8	56.0	43.6	931	14.2	3.17
Oxford	13 846	162.1	18.2	24.4	69.2	6.4	252	44.4	49.7	52.6	3 480	111.8	2.96
Pascagoula	27 264	58.9	13.2	38.6	56.6	4.8	420	69.3	67.9	49.7	8 015	70.2	3.35
Pass Christian	2 979	-23.2	29.2	38.7	50.5	10.9	372	63.9	60.0	46.9	876	-20.0	3.40
Pearl (U)	9 623	89.4	0.2	41.3	56.1	2.6	405	78.1	76.1	49.0	2 701	103.7	3.56
Petal (U)	6 986	74.3	2.5	37.0	56.3	6.8	379	74.6	68.7	47.3	2 130	87.8	3.27
Philadelphia	6 274	25.1	30.9	35.4	52.3	12.3	382	72.5	60.5	43.9	2 037	29.7	3.03
Picayune	10 467	33.6	33.8	39.7	52.1	8.2	405	68.0	62.6	46.8	3 081	40.6	3.37
Pontotoc	3 453	(NA)	16.5	31.4	54.2	14.3	325	72.8	60.3	43.9	1 179	(NA)	2.89
Port Gibson	2 589	-9.5	66.6	35.9	49.6	14.5	383	57.5	49.4	43.5	878	3.9	2.95
Quitman	2 702	(NA)	29.9	36.2	52.0	11.8	367	70.4	60.1	44.9	848	(NA)	3.17
Ripley	3 482	30.5	18.3	32.9	52.6	14.5	419	74.6	63.1	44.8	1 164	37.4	2.98
Rosedale	2 599	(NA)	65.7	43.4	43.1	13.5	634	56.5	50.0	43.6	766	(NA)	3.28
Senatobia	4 247	30.3	27.9	31.1	59.0	9.9	291	55.2	49.9	46.0	1 166	31.0	3.11
Shaw	2 513	(NA)	71.8	43.8	43.0	13.2	598	55.3	48.5	43.4	708	(NA)	3.55
Shelby	2 645	(NA)	68.2	42.3	41.9	15.8	531	55.3	46.1	41.3	790	(NA)	3.35
Southaven (U)	8 931	...	0.2	44.8	54.1	1.9	477	82.1	79.0	48.9	2 378	...	3.76

	Population										Households		
	All persons							Persons 14 years and over – Percent married		Persons 18 years and over – Percent male			
	Number	Percent change 1960–70	Percent Negro and other races	Percent under 18 years	Percent 18 to 64 years	Percent 65 years and over	Fertility ratio[1]	Male	Female		Number	Percent change 1960–70	Persons per household
PLACES OF 2,500 OR MORE – Continued													
Starkville	11 369	25.7	25.4	33.1	59.5	7.4	364	64.5	66.0	49.7	3 678	38.0	3.04
State College (U)	4 595	...	12.0	12.8	84.8	2.4	104	13.8	25.3	67.3	479	...	3.39
Tupelo	20 471	18.9	17.6	35.1	56.1	8.8	347	72.5	62.8	44.9	6 670	24.8	3.04
Vicksburg	25 478	-12.6	49.7	35.0	51.8	13.2	381	63.2	52.1	43.2	8 297	-7.0	3.03
Water Valley	3 285	2.5	33.2	31.6	50.5	17.9	326	65.6	53.3	42.9	1 124	9.9	2.90
Waveland	3 108	(NA)	9.6	36.4	52.4	11.2	440	71.8	65.3	47.2	984	(NA)	3.16
Waynesboro	4 368	12.2	38.9	38.9	50.5	10.6	427	66.8	57.5	44.3	1 337	20.9	3.23
West Gulfport (U)	6 996	110.5	91.8	51.3	44.2	4.5	652	60.2	57.9	46.0	1 779	115.9	3.92
West Point	8 714	1.9	43.5	37.4	51.9	10.7	365	67.5	55.3	43.1	2 725	7.0	3.17
Wiggins	2 995	(NA)	28.0	36.6	52.2	11.3	453	67.9	61.7	47.6	884	(NA)	3.31
Winona	5 521	28.9	39.9	37.8	49.7	12.5	416	67.6	57.0	44.3	1 708	29.5	3.20
Yazoo City	10 796	-3.9	60.1	39.6	47.3	13.1	446	61.0	52.2	42.9	3 352	1.5	3.20
COUNTIES													
Adams	37 293	-1.2	48.1	39.8	51.2	9.1	377	64.8	56.5	44.9	11 025	8.7	3.36
Alcorn	27 179	7.5	11.9	32.6	55.6	11.8	358	71.7	64.6	46.5	8 801	18.7	3.07
Amite	13 763	-11.6	50.5	40.2	47.4	12.5	479	63.5	60.4	48.2	3 869	-0.4	3.56
Attala	19 570	-8.3	40.6	36.3	49.7	14.0	433	65.7	60.8	46.9	5 972	4.3	3.27
Benton	7 505	-2.8	42.0	40.7	47.8	11.5	486	67.3	64.1	48.0	2 024	10.0	3.70
Bolivar	49 409	-9.3	62.1	43.4	46.5	10.1	529	57.5	52.9	45.7	12 708	-4.7	3.77
Calhoun	14 623	-8.3	26.1	34.8	52.3	12.9	408	69.2	64.0	47.5	4 528	4.7	3.22
Carroll	9 397	-15.9	50.9	39.1	48.9	11.9	454	62.6	59.5	47.9	2 573	-5.2	3.63
Chickasaw	16 805	-0.5	35.6	37.7	50.1	12.2	432	68.0	61.6	46.5	4 949	9.4	3.38
Choctaw	8 440	0.2	28.1	36.0	49.7	14.3	415	67.7	62.1	46.3	2 571	11.7	3.27
Claiborne	10 086	-7.0	74.9	37.6	51.7	10.7	343	54.7	44.9	43.4	2 669	0.8	3.44
Clarke	15 049	-8.8	36.0	35.7	51.1	13.2	417	65.5	61.4	47.4	4 572	3.0	3.28
Clay	18 840	-0.5	49.5	38.7	51.0	10.3	396	63.0	56.1	45.4	5 318	6.1	3.46
Coahoma	40 447	-12.5	64.8	43.8	45.2	11.0	519	60.8	54.0	44.4	11 185	-6.2	3.57
Copiah	24 749	-8.5	50.3	37.9	49.2	12.9	396	61.9	55.7	46.0	7 093	-0.7	3.42
Covington	14 002	2.7	32.7	39.0	49.9	11.1	465	65.8	61.7	46.4	3 981	13.1	3.51
De Soto	35 885	50.2	35.3	43.5	49.7	6.8	489	68.9	66.8	48.4	9 304	67.1	3.85
Forrest	57 849	9.7	24.8	33.1	57.5	9.3	328	62.2	55.4	45.8	17 546	19.5	3.09
Franklin	8 011	-13.7	38.9	35.5	50.2	14.3	342	63.5	58.4	47.0	2 531	-0.9	3.16
George	12 459	12.3	11.7	39.5	51.9	8.5	446	69.5	70.1	49.4	3 576	25.5	3.47
Greene	8 545	2.1	22.0	38.7	50.3	11.0	447	64.6	[illegible]	48.6	2 448	20.0	3.49
Grenada	19 854	7.8	43.8	38.1	50.8	11.1	431	67.9	59.2	45.5	5 886	16.8	3.33
Hancock	17 387	23.8	14.3	37.7	52.2	10.1	445	64.9	63.0	48.5	5 152	33.6	3.34
Harrison	134 582	12.6	17.5	35.8	57.4	6.8	385	58.5	65.0	53.2	37 488	21.0	3.30
Hinds	214 973	14.9	39.3	37.2	55.0	7.8	355	65.7	57.4	44.9	63 266	25.2	3.30
Holmes	23 120	-14.7	68.2	41.3	45.4	13.2	495	57.2	51.4	44.9	6 342	-6.7	3.54
Humphreys	14 [illegible]	-23.5	65.1	44.7	44.8	10.5	571	61.5	56.2	45.7	3 863	-14.8	3.77
Issaquena	2 737	-23.5	62.3	44.4	44.6	11.0	609	61.5	60.4	47.7	727	-16.0	3.76
Itawamba	16 847	11.7	5.7	32.7	55.5	11.8	369	72.2	69.2	48.1	5 206	23.4	3.21
Jackson	87 975	58.5	16.4	41.5	53.6	4.9	464	71.4	70.0	49.1	24 584	68.2	3.56
Jasper	15 994	-5.4	46.5	38.4	49.8	11.9	418	64.9	60.5	47.1	4 590	9.5	3.48
Jefferson	9 29[illegible]	-8.4	75.3	42.8	44.3	13.0	461	56.3	49.6	45.8	2 422	-5.1	3.83
Jefferson Davis	12 936	-4.5	50.3	39.2	50.3	10.5	446	62.4	58.7	47.1	3 604	9.1	3.53
Jones	56 357	-5.3	24.8	34.9	54.5	10.7	345	66.0	61.0	46.6	17 047	7.1	3.19
Kemper	10 233	-16.6	56.1	37.9	48.3	13.8	460	57.6	56.8	48.7	2 808	-6.0	3.56
Lafayette	24 181	13.2	28.4	30.4	60.8	8.8	325	52.1	54.8	50.9	6 431	25.8	3.21
Lamar	15 209	11.2	13.3	38.2	51.9	9.9	418	66.9	64.6	48.0	4 506	21.2	3.37
Lauderdale	67 087	-	31.2	33.4	55.3	11.3	359	64.7	58.6	46.1	20 963	8.5	3.07
Lawrence	11 137	9.0	32.2	38.8	50.1	11.0	414	67.4	62.7	47.5	3 286	21.9	3.38
Leake	17 085	-8.4	38.8	35.3	51.3	13.3	365	66.1	62.3	47.6	5 241	8.0	3.26
Lee	46 148	13.7	20.8	35.4	54.9	9.7	378	71.4	65.4	46.7	14 422	23.3	3.18
Leflore	42 111	-10.7	58.3	41.1	48.4	10.5	465	63.3	55.1	44.4	11 859	-1.0	3.47
Lincoln	26 198	-2.1	30.8	36.3	52.3	11.4	393	67.6	61.0	46.4	7 958	8.6	3.26
Lowndes	49 700	6.6	32.9	37.0	54.8	8.1	362	65.7	56.3	44.8	14 084	17.8	3.33
Madison	29 737	-9.6	62.5	42.5	47.5	10.0	462	[illegible]	55.0	45.7	7 593	0.7	3.82
Marion	22 871	-1.8	31.2	38.2	51.0	10.8	405	65.9	61.1	46.7	6 704	8.2	3.36
Marshall	24 027	-1.9	62.1	43.6	47.0	9.4	455	59.8	55.4	[illegible]	5 806	11.5	4.05
Monroe	34 043	0.3	30.5	37.0	51.8	11.1	424	69.2	63.5	46.3	10 316	10.6	3.29
Montgomery	12 918	-3.0	44.9	38.0	48.9	13.0	417	65.5	59.6	46.3	3 858	6.6	3.33
Neshoba	20 802	-0.6	27.5	35.7	51.8	12.5	398	69.7	64.4	67.0	6 362	10.7	3.25
Newton	18 983	-2.7	29.7	33.0	53.3	13.7	337	66.1	59.8	46.7	5 853	10.5	3.15
Noxubee	14 288	-15.1	66.1	43.6	45.1	11.3	499	60.0	54.7	46.2	3 739	-6.2	3.82
Oktibbeha	28 752	9.8	35.4	33.7	58.9	7.4	351	50.4	58.6	53.3	7 544	24.3	3.37
Panola	26 829	-6.8	51.3	41.3	47.2	11.6	476	63.1	58.6	46.5	7 288	2.1	3.67
Pearl River	27 802	24.1	18.4	38.2	53.3	8.5	386	67.3	65.0	48.3	8 087	33.1	3.39
Perry	9 065	3.7	26.4	39.1	50.8	10.2	435	65.6	62.7	47.8	2 603	15.0	3.47
Pike	31 756	-9.4	43.6	36.7	50.8	12.5	387	64.4	56.[illegible]	45.3	9 699	0.3	3.23
Pontotoc	17 363	0.8	17.9	33.5	52.7	13.7	394	71.0	65.8	47.3	5 534	11.4	3.12
Prentiss	20 133	12.2	11.7	33.4	54.7	11.9	392	70.4	64.5	46.9	6 330	23.9	3.15
Quitman	15 888	-14.4	57.9	44.8	44.3	10.9	586	63.2	58.7	47.1	4 192	-14.8	3.74
Rankin	43 933	28.0	28.2	35.9	55.6	8.5	386	66.0	64.7	48.2	11 166	46.7	3.51
Scott	21 369	0.9	33.3	38.4	50.7	10.9	398	68.3	64.6	47.3	6 146	12.1	3.47
Sharkey	8 937	-16.8	65.0	44.1	44.1	9.7	558	60.9	55.7	46.2	2 276	-11.3	3.92
Simpson	19 947	-2.5	31.4	37.2	51.3	11.6	408	66.9	63.9	48.1	5 831	12.3	3.37
Smith	13 561	-5.2	21.8	35.7	53.0	11.3	390	68.5	66.0	48.7	4 040	8.7	3.46
Stone	8 101	15.5	23.2	35.2	54.9	9.9	388	61.2	60.8	49.8	2 258	20.9	3.39
Sunflower	37 047	-19.0	63.2	42.9	47.2	10.0	554	60.6	55.9	49.3	9 222	-11.3	3.81
Tallahatchie	19 338	-19.7	60.4	44.1	43.8	12.1	570	63.2	57.9	46.3	5 223	-10.1	3.66
Tate	18 544	2.2	47.3	41.2	48.9	9.9	456	61.8	58.1	46.8	4 810	12.1	3.71
Tippah	15 852	5.0	16.4	33.9	53.3	12.7	377	70.9	65.0	47.1	4 881	17.9	3.20
Tishomingo	14 940	7.6	4.5	31.8	55.1	13.2	325	70.6	67.2	47.6	4 895	20.1	3.04
Tunica	11 854	-29.5	72.8	46.7	41.5	11.8	668	61.1	56.2	46.2	3 073	-23.6	3.83
Union	19 096	1.0	15.5	33.0	53.9	13.1	389	71.7	65.9	47.2	6 109	13.3	3.11
Walthall	12 500	-7.5	40.8	37.9	50.8	11.3	406	67.4	61.6	46.6	3 586	5.8	3.47
Warren	44 981	6.6	41.1	38.4	51.0	10.6	410	65.9	57.7	45.2	13 559	10.0	3.28
Washington	70 581	-10.2	54.9	43.1	47.9	9.0	495	63.6	57.2	45.2	19 432	-4.8	3.61
Wayne	16 650	2.4	32.9	39.7	50.1	10.3	426	64.8	61.3	47.3	4 735	15.0	3.49
Webster	10 047	-5.0	22.5	33.7	51.7	14.5	374	68.7	64.9	47.9	3 116	6.4	3.19
Wilkinson	11 099	-16.1	67.7	41.4	47.1	11.5	403	57.9	53.4	46.3	3 065	-4.9	3.61
Winston	18 406	-4.4	39.9	36.8	51.2	11.9	418	67.4	62.9	47.3	5 450	10.3	3.37
Yalobusha	11 915	-4.7	40.7	36.5	48.8	14.7	414	65.4	57.8	45.8	3 626	7.7	3.27
Yazoo	27 304	-13.7	53.5	41.1	47.3	11.6	460	62.3	57.0	45.9	7 739	-3.7	3.51

[1] Children under 5 years per 1,000 women 15 to 49 years

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1970, General Population Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-B26, Mississippi.

TABLE 2

GENERAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, SMALL PLACES,[1] MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Place	Population										Households					
		Sex		Race			Age				Total			Negro and other races		
	Total	Male	Female	White	Negro	Other	Median age	Percent under 18 years	Percent 65 years and over	In group quarters	Number	Population	Persons per household	Number	Population	Persons per household
Ackerman	1 502	687	815	1 018	484	–	29.4	34.0	14.7	2	528	1 500	2.84	126	484	3.84
Baldwyn	2 366	1 072	1 294	1 539	826	1	31.2	32.6	15.3	44	758	2 322	3.06	201	827	4.11
Bay Springs	1 801	845	956	1 189	611	1	28.5	34.0	12.0	–	596	1 801	3.02	177	612	3.46
Beaumont	1 061	535	526	676	385	–	24.7	39.9	9.2	–	305	1 061	3.48	97	385	3.97
Bruce	2 033	981	1 052	1 351	681	1	30.8	35.0	13.7	–	642	2 033	3.17	155	682	4.40
Bude	1 146	531	615	568	578	–	30.4	36.8	14.4	7	375	1 139	3.04	172	571	3.32
Calhoun City	1 847	844	1 003	1 416	431	–	34.0	31.3	14.5	2	626	1 845	2.95	102	431	4.23
Centreville	1 819	846	973	981	834	4	26.9	38.7	12.8	–	567	1 819	3.21	227	838	3.69
Coffeeville	1 024	454	570	548	459	17	29.8	36.3	16.1	9	325	1 015	3.12	119	467	3.92
Coldwater	1 450	679	771	674	776	–	26.6	37.2	12.6	–	426	1 450	3.40	187	776	4.15
Collins	1 934	907	1 027	1 194	739	1	26.2	38.5	9.7	–	570	1 934	3.39	170	740	4.35
Como	1 003	448	555	459	543	1	36.2	34.4	20.5	47	315	956	3.03	141	497	3.52
Crenshaw	1 271	583	688	376	893	2	24.7	41.5	17.5	6	376	1 265	3.36	242	895	3.70
Decatur	1 311	626	685	1 063	247	1	21.2	24.2	11.5	328	342	983	2.87	67	247	3.69
De Kalb	1 072	495	577	685	387	–	36.8	31.2	17.4	–	385	1 072	2.78	110	387	3.52
Edwards	1 236	550	686	367	869	–	25.4	39.0	15.8	–	387	1 236	3.19	249	869	3.49
Escatawpa (U)	1 579	756	823	1 341	238	–	25.1	37.3	6.4	–	452	1 579	3.49	68	238	3.50
Eupora	1 792	850	942	1 255	537	–	32.2	32.3	15.8	–	611	1 792	2.93	152	537	3.53
Fayette	1 725	785	940	405	1 318	2	22.8	41.8	13.7	–	497	1 725	3.47	327	1 320	4.04
Friars Point	1 177	553	624	228	949	–	23.2	43.6	17.5	–	355	1 177	3.32	267	949	3.55
Gautier (U)	2 087	1 065	1 022	1 852	235	–	26.0	33.7	5.5	–	727	2 087	2.87	56	235	4.20
Gloster	1 401	656	745	687	714	–	27.9	38.4	14.5	6	443	1 395	3.15	197	714	3.62
Goodman	1 194	617	577	771	421	2	19.2	23.2	12.1	460	234	734	3.14	109	423	3.88
Greenville North (U)	2 154	1 031	1 123	889	1 263	2	19.5	47.4	5.7	–	500	2 154	4.31	254	1 265	4.98
Hattiesburg South (U)	2 491	1 165	1 326	1 052	1 436	3	22.9	42.6	10.6	–	715	2 491	3.48	406	1 439	3.54
Heidelberg	1 112	545	567	560	552	–	27.6	37.9	9.4	–	336	1 112	3.31	143	552	3.86
Hernando	2 499	1 187	1 312	1 719	771	9	25.4	38.4	9.1	23	742	2 476	3.34	209	764	3.66
Inverness	1 119	491	628	533	549	37	29.9	35.4	16.9	10	377	1 109	2.94	176	576	3.27
Itta Bena	2 489	1 127	1 362	839	1 632	18	25.0	41.6	14.3	–	742	2 489	3.35	460	1 650	3.59
Iuka	2 389	1 106	1 283	2 132	257	–	32.9	31.6	14.1	16	826	2 373	2.87	70	257	3.67
Jonestown	1 110	478	632	207	891	12	24.2	43.2	16.4	5	344	1 105	3.21	271	903	3.33
Lambert	1 511	694	817	776	734	1	25.1	40.7	15.2	–	467	1 511	3.24	208	735	3.53
Leakesville	1 090	536	554	851	236	3	26.6	36.9	11.9	–	344	1 090	3.17	54	239	4.43
Lucedale	2 083	1 024	1 059	1 571	512		26.7	36.7	9.4	7	644	2 076	3.22	110	512	4.65
Lumberton	2 084	993	1 091	1 224	857	3	25.9	38.3	12.0	–	662	2 084	3.15	239	860	3.60
McComb South (U)	1 085	496	589	117	966	2	26.8	37.7	14.3	8	348	1 077	3.09	299	960	3.21
Magnolia	1 913	877	1 036	1 021	887	5	31.6	34.4	12.9	14	624	1 899	3.04	251	878	3.50
Mendenhall	2 402	1 134	1 268	1 761	641	–	27.4	37.6	10.4	18	747	2 384	3.19	167	634	3.80
Meriden Station (U)	2 465	1 832	633	2 270	63	132	21.9	26.7	0.4	1 143	330	1 322	4.01	30	136	4.53
Monticello	1 790	846	944	1 315	473	2	25.8	38.3	9.3	–	575	1 790	3.11	140	475	3.39
Moorhead	2 284	1 076	1 208	818	1 434	32	20.4	39.1	13.4	202	582	2 082	3.58	368	1 459	3.96
Morgantown (U)	2 008	1 003	1 005	1 916	81	11	25.7	41.4	3.0		560	2 008	3.59	25	92	3.68
Mound Bayou	2 134	992	1 142	22	2 106	6	20.2	45.1	12.8	13	534	2 121	3.97	527	2 099	3.98
Nettleton	1 591	734	857	1 123	468	–	27.2	34.9	10.9	8	492	1 583	3.22	112	468	4.18
Olive Branch	1 513	733	780	1 099	414	–	24.3	39.4	8.7	–	412	1 513	3.67	69	414	6.00
Pelahatchie	1 306	653	653	826	475	5	25.8	37.8	10.5	6	391	1 300	3.32	133	474	3.56
Pickens	1 012	464	548	329	683	–	25.0	42.1	15.5		285	1 012	3.55	161	683	4.24
Poplarville	2 317	1 084	1 228	1 734	576	7	23.1	31.2	10.6	313	656	1 999	3.05	145	560	3.86
Prentiss	1 789	848	941	1 479	310		29.5	35.5	9.9	21	582	1 768	3.04	99	305	3.08
Purvis	1 860	895	965	1 400	459	1	26.7	36.6	10.0	3	580	1 857	3.20	103	460	4.47
Raleigh	1 018	478	540	833	185		30.1	35.9	8.8		324	1 018	3.14	39	185	4.74
Raymond	1 620	794	826	1 434	182	4	19.7	19.3	8.3	627	348	993	2.85	57	169	2.96
Richton	1 110	512	598	792	316	2	27.9	35.9	13.2	–	369	1 110	3.01	93	318	3.42
Ridgeland	1 650	787	863	1 538	109	3	25.4	37.3	5.9		510	1 650	3.24	35	112	3.20
Rolling Fork	2 034	953	1 081	967	1 063	4	23.9	41.9	8.3	6	570	2 028	3.56	228	1 061	4.65
Ruleville	2 351	1 066	1 285	1 036	1 308	7	24.7	39.0	12.9	39	675	2 312	3.43	325	1 283	3.95
Sardis	2 391	1 107	1 284	1 305	1 086		30.3	35.9	13.8	–	755	2 391	3.17	306	1 086	3.55
Stonewall	1 161	560	601	978	183		28.4	35.1	10.3	–	383	1 161	3.03	47	183	3.89
Summit	1 640	771	869	672	968	–	26.5	40.1	12.7	7	494	1 633	3.31	243	961	3.95
Taylorsville	1 299	633	666	1 107	192	–	28.9	32.9	10.8	–	430	1 299	3.02	52	192	3.69
Tchula	1 729	770	959	507	1 216	6	27.8	40.0	15.6	5	562	1 724	3.07	372	1 217	3.27
Tunica	1 685	769	916	1 093	587	5	34.5	33.7	14.9	7	613	1 678	2.74	198	586	2.96
Tunica North (U)	1 325	610	715	99	1 225	1	19.9	46.9	14.3	34	353	1 291	3.66	320	1 200	3.75
Tutwiler	1 103	490	613	479	607	17	25.5	42.1	13.5	–	336	1 103	3.28	172	624	3.63
Tylertown	1 736	772	964	1 163	572	1	30.8	33.9	14.7	46	575	1 690	2.94	157	573	3.65
Union	1 856	847	1 009	1 299	553	4	37.9	29.5	18.0	8	668	1 848	2.77	157	557	3.55
Utica	1 019	476	543	585	432	2	30.6	35.8	15.8	–	347	1 019	2.94	116	434	3.74
Verona	1 877	916	961	1 486	390	1	24.6	38.9	6.5	–	544	1 877	3.45	98	391	3.99
Wesson	1 253	639	614	1 193	59	1	20.0	22.9	9.4	424	283	829	2.93	9	52	5.78
Woodville	1 734	802	932	626	1 105	3	27.8	37.0	10.9	–	522	1 734	3.32	282	1 108	3.93

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[1] 1,000 to 10,000 population.

Source: Same as Table 1.

TABLE 3

SUMMARY SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, SPECIFIED AREAS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Area	Total population			Foreign born – Percent with mother tongue other than English	Native population – Percent residing in State of birth	Persons 5 years and over – Percent migrant	Children in elementary school – Percent in private school	Persons 14 to 17 years – Percent in school	Persons 25 years old and over		Married couples – Percent without own household	Families – Percent with own children under 6 years	Persons under 18 years – Percent living with both parents	Women 35 to 44 years – Cumulative fertility rate[1]
	Number	Percent foreign born	Percent native of foreign or mixed parentage						Median school years completed	Percent who completed 4 years of high school or more				
STANDARD METRO AREAS														
Biloxi–Gulfport	134 582	1.2	4.1	72.2	52.3	30.5	8.0	86.9	12.1	54.7	1.3	30.2	79.3	3 226
Jackson	258 897	0.3	0.9	68.8	80.5	16.6	9.8	90.0	12.2	56.1	1.9	28.0	73.3	3 038
URBANIZED AREAS														
Biloxi–Gulfport	121 940	1.4	4.6	70.1	49.8	32.8	8.2	[illegible]	12.2	56.1	1.2	30.5	79.5	3 225
Jackson	190 050	0.4	1.1	69.6	79.0	18.2	10.6	[illegible]	12.4	62.7	1.6	28.0	74.2	2 876
Memphis, Tenn.–Miss.	663 954	0.8	2.4	78.3	57.4	14.2	7.2	94.0	12.0	51.1	1.7	26.4	73.1	2 980
PLACES OF 10,000														
Biloxi	48 486	1.7	5.7	69.4	38.2	43.0	9.7	83.4	12.2	55.1	0.6	29.4	80.1	3 086
Brookhaven	10 700	0.5	0.7	46.2	84.3	13.2	3.9	81.9	12.1	51.6	1.2	30.0	66.1	3 175
Canton	10 503	0.1	0.7	–	90.1	10.6	39.1	94.4	10.3	37.8	4.8	29.3	67.3	3 892
Clarksdale	21 673	1.2	2.2	83.1	85.7	13.4	15.8	89.9	10.2	39.8	1.5	28.6	62.4	3 657
Cleveland	13 401	0.4	0.7	100.0	84.6	23.4	6.6	95.2	12.1	51.4	1.9	25.7	65.7	3 838
Columbus	25 795	0.2	1.0	57.4	69.2	22.4	2.1	89.7	11.6	47.7	2.5	25.5	64.1	3 064
Corinth	11 529	0.7	1.2	90.2	68.5	12.6	0.4	73.7	11.0	43.0	1.1	21.6	79.3	2 762
Greenville	39 648	0.7	2.2	90.5	81.9	12.5	4.5	88.5	10.5	41.0	2.9	28.9	63.1	3 716
Greenwood	22 400	0.6	1.8	89.6	87.2	12.3	7.2	88.8	11.0	44.4	1.8	25.8	61.8	3 324
Gulfport	40 790	1.3	3.5	73.6	57.2	24.4	8.8	91.4	12.2	57.4	1.8	26.8	78.1	3 073
Hattiesburg	38 334	0.6	1.5	89.5	75.7	26.5	2.8	93.5	12.3	58.1	1.9	26.1	71.7	3 052
Jackson	153 959	0.4	1.0	71.8	80.2	15.7	10.2	92.2	12.4	61.2	1.7	26.4	71.1	2 878
Laurel	24 145	0.2	0.9	71.7	81.0	12.5	2.5	91.3	11.9	49.2	2.0	21.8	67.9	2 920
McComb	11 786	0.4	1.0	53.3	84.4	14.7	1.8	91.5	12.0	50.0	2.7	18.3	70.4	3 068
Meridian	45 083	0.5	1.1	81.5	76.3	13.5	4.2	86.7	11.9	49.4	1.8	22.0	67.7	2 828
Moss Point	19 289	0.2	0.9	32.6	70.6	13.1	2.1	91.8	11.9	49.3	2.2	39.0	78.2	3 951
Natchez	19 704	0.3	1.5	100.0	81.0	10.4	14.1	95.3	11.2	44.9	1.9	24.2	62.3	3 440
Oxford	13 795	1.5	1.8	86.2	68.1	45.6	0.9	87.8	12.9	71.0	0.6	27.0	74.4	3 294
Pascagoula	27 484	0.9	2.3	58.2	65.0	24.3	11.5	91.2	12.3	59.5	1.0	32.9	82.2	3 183
Picayune	10 410	0.1	1.3	...	70.2	19.9	–	89.1	12.0	49.8	1.9	28.7	76.8	3 197
Starkville	11 369	2.1	2.1	77.6	75.4	32.5	–	89.8	12.8	64.7	0.6	29.9	72.5	2 930
Tupelo	20 471	0.2	1.2	85.7	76.2	20.0	0.4	91.0	12.3	58.9	1.4	25.3	79.1	2 575
Vicksburg	25 713	0.8	2.3	83.9	81.5	11.5	7.6	92.2	11.5	47.5	2.3	23.4	67.4	3 785
Yazoo City	10 796	–	0.5	–	90.0	8.3	15.4	84.3	9.9	37.1	1.6	25.5	57.5	3 598

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[1] Children ever born per 1,000 females.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-C26, Mississippi.

TABLE 4

SPECIFIED ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS, STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, URBANIZED AREAS, AND PLACES OF 10,000 OR MORE POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Area	Nonworker worker ratio	Percent in labor force					Civilian labor force — Percent unemployed	Employed persons			Worked during census week — Percent working outside county of residence	Persons who worked in 1969 — Percent worked 50 to 52 weeks	Families		
		Female, 16 years and over	Married women, husband present		Male			Percent in manufacturing industries	Percent in white-collar occupations	Percent government workers			Median income (dollars)	Percent with income of —	
			Total	With own children under 6 years	18 to 24 years	65 years and over								Less than poverty level	$15,000 or more
STANDARD METRO AREAS															
Biloxi-Gulfport	1.42	37.0	32.5	22.8	92.1	26.2	4.2	12.1	47.7	25.5	5.4	54.4	7 233	17.3	10.3
Jackson	1.56	45.5	47.7	42.6	63.7	26.0	3.4	14.6	52.7	20.4	11.9	62.7	8 138	18.6	16.1
URBANIZED AREAS															
Biloxi-Gulfport	1.39	38.4	33.8	24.7	92.2	26.4	4.4	12.2	49.0	25.9	9.0	54.3	7 302	17.2	10.3
Jackson	1.41	48.7	49.3	43.1	64.3	31.2	3.2	13.6	57.6	20.0	8.1	63.0	8 834	15.8	18.5
Memphis, Tenn.-Miss.	1.47	44.9	44.6	36.5	71.0	27.9	4.6	20.7	51.1	17.5	4.0	58.1	8 850	15.1	17.1
PLACES OF 10,000															
Biloxi	1.08	40.1	33.6	21.5	96.0	22.9	5.6	10.1	48.8	28.4	4.1	49.5	6 737	16.5	7.8
Brookhaven	1.66	42.5	45.9	43.0	72.9	30.6	3.7	23.2	46.5	17.9	15.7	58.5	5 925	26.2	9.4
Canton	1.61	47.3	52.1	55.9	73.9	32.9	3.9	33.2	36.7	15.5	18.5	63.1	5 737	31.6	5.8
Clarksdale	1.84	44.5	48.6	45.9	56.4	29.9	6.3	15.8	48.5	25.2	4.2	58.7	5 864	31.2	7.9
Cleveland	1.48	48.9	55.6	52.3	53.5	33.3	6.7	17.5	52.3	25.4	7.1	48.3	7 460	23.4	13.7
Columbus	1.42	46.8	52.5	43.2	73.6	33.8	4.5	22.9	47.2	21.6	4.0	57.6	7 019	22.9	10.2
Corinth	1.42	40.8	44.0	45.0	78.9	29.3	4.9	35.6	39.4	13.8	7.4	65.2	7 082	18.2	9.3
Greenville	1.71	45.9	47.5	43.9	70.7	25.0	7.3	21.8	46.2	18.2	3.1	59.3	6 308	29.3	8.9
Greenwood	1.49	49.3	53.1	55.3	82.5	35.7	5.9	17.9	46.8	19.4	3.7	65.5	6 458	26.3	10.6
Gulfport	1.44	38.6	34.9	27.0	85.9	28.5	3.7	8.7	53.3	26.1	4.3	60.9	7 718	15.9	13.3
Hattiesburg	1.58	42.2	45.3	33.9	51.3	27.2	3.4	14.7	54.6	23.4	8.5	51.1	6 833	22.5	13.0
Jackson	1.41	48.7	49.0	44.3	62.4	31.8	3.4	13.3	56.3	20.4	4.9	62.6	8 299	17.6	17.8
Laurel	1.74	38.5	39.8	35.7	68.4	24.6	3.4	23.5	45.8	14.5	5.3	62.3	7 097	21.5	11.2
McComb	1.72	39.0	40.4	29.9	63.6	22.5	2.1	17.7	53.9	15.0	5.3	65.3	6 462	24.6	10.3
Meridian	1.53	41.4	43.8	39.9	77.4	24.2	4.3	17.5	49.3	17.5	3.3	62.5	6 831	22.9	10.3
Moss Point	1.70	42.2	42.8	37.5	81.0	22.5	5.4	48.2	34.8	15.8	0.9	59.1	8 199	14.2	12.0
Natchez	1.79	39.3	40.1	27.3	59.6	22.5	5.6	20.2	45.7	13.1	5.7	61.0	6 331	31.4	12.4
Oxford	1.84	41.0	52.8	42.6	25.2	40.0	2.5	6.1	66.2	50.5	5.9	38.7	7 419	19.8	14.3
Pascagoula	1.47	40.8	37.7	33.0	78.2	29.4	4.7	42.5	48.9	12.2	3.5	67.6	9 427	10.4	18.3
Picayune	1.72	39.1	39.3	31.6	83.6	25.6	6.6	32.9	40.4	11.6	29.2	57.9	7 048	25.3	11.2
Starkville	1.44	50.2	49.9	46.1	49.0	23.1	4.8	10.4	62.2	47.1	6.1	53.4	6 908	21.2	15.1
Tupelo	1.29	48.2	50.9	38.0	76.2	39.6	1.9	25.5	56.4	14.3	4.0	66.6	8 436	12.5	15.3
Vicksburg	1.59	44.7	48.1	41.4	64.7	26.0	4.8	16.0	47.8	25.3	2.7	63.4	6 715	24.1	12.8
Yazoo City	1.88	44.0	46.5	43.2	61.2	21.8	5.6	19.8	40.0	17.8	3.9	57.4	4 916	41.2	7.0

Source: Same as Table 3.

TABLE 5

SPECIFIED ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Counties	Nonworker-worker ratio	Percent in labor force					Civilian labor force – Percent unemployed	Employed persons			Worked during census week – Percent working outside county of residence	Persons who worked in 1969 – Percent worked 50 to 52 weeks	Families		
		Female, 16 years and over	Married women, husband present		Male			Percent in manufacturing industries	Percent in white-collar occupations	Percent government workers			Median income (dollars)	Percent with income of –	
			Total	With own children under 6 years	18 to 24 years	65 years and over								Less than poverty level	$15,000 or more
State	**1.82**	**38.8**	**41.2**	**37.6**	**68.1**	**23.4**	**5.0**	**25.9**	**38.6**	**18.0**	**13.7**	**55.4**	**6 071**	**28.9**	**8.3**
Adams	1.89	36.9	38.1	27.0	64.2	23.2	5.6	24.4	42.3	13.5	5.1	61.7	6 915	28.6	11.0
Alcorn	1.56	39.7	43.2	43.5	78.3	20.5	7.1	42.3	32.2	12.1	7.1	61.3	6 601	22.3	6.8
Amite	2.18	32.6	34.0	41.8	69.1	20.0	7.2	34.0	25.6	16.9	25.8	47.1	4 224	42.1	4.1
Attala	1.96	35.7	39.1	34.4	71.2	22.7	5.9	32.9	34.3	14.1	9.7	50.7	4 869	37.2	4.7
Benton	2.11	38.5	42.3	37.0	65.2	20.2	6.5	35.0	25.4	23.5	30.1	43.7	4 500	38.2	4.5
Bolivar	2.18	39.9	45.4	43.7	56.5	27.8	9.4	17.8	37.5	21.5	6.0	40.5	4 465	44.3	7.5
Calhoun	1.79	35.5	40.7	50.8	76.6	23.0	5.4	40.3	23.8	12.0	14.8	57.3	4 817	32.5	5.2
Carroll	2.11	33.6	37.1	37.5	54.3	29.8	5.9	23.4	28.1	17.4	44.3	54.6	4 183	42.6	5.1
Chickasaw	1.74	41.4	47.7	52.8	80.7	21.1	5.7	47.4	29.0	9.8	14.4	63.7	5 575	32.0	5.9
Choctaw	2.11	33.5	37.7	34.9	67.3	16.0	6.8	43.9	27.5	17.0	33.1	47.2	4 861	35.1	2.4
Claiborne	2.32	32.8	42.2	32.9	38.9	21.6	7.6	30.6	37.8	25.2	18.3	45.0	4 583	42.0	6.4
Clarke	1.86	38.7	44.1	50.7	64.1	18.4	5.5	39.8	30.7	15.1	21.4	58.5	5 786	32.7	4.8
Clay	1.75	40.9	43.4	45.8	68.7	27.3	6.1	34.8	34.0	13.6	8.5	58.1	6 228	25.9	6.4
Coahoma	2.35	35.7	39.6	37.4	50.8	30.9	7.7	12.7	40.9	23.0	4.2	46.3	4 304	42.8	6.7
Copiah	2.10	35.5	38.8	38.6	55.0	24.9	5.8	32.5	31.1	15.8	19.3	52.6	5 110	35.4	4.7
Covington	2.04	35.8	37.1	32.4	67.3	20.2	3.8	30.5	28.7	16.7	26.6	48.9	5 591	31.6	5.0
De Soto	1.97	35.6	37.2	30.5	73.9	25.9	4.2	29.0	36.1	10.2	56.2	61.1	7 704	23.3	8.6
Forrest	1.66	40.8	43.4	35.5	55.0	21.5	3.3	[illegible]	49.8	20.8	8.0	54.9	6 756	21.9	10.2
Franklin	2.11	30.7	33.5	35.1	69.4	15.8	6.5	30.1	28.6	17.7	25.8	55.9	4 800	37.8	4.8
George	2.09	29.1	31.6	25.6	81.0	24.2	3.8	36.0	31.3	16.8	34.8	53.4	6 619	21.6	5.6
Greene	2.23	30.8	34.4	29.2	69.2	10.2	6.0	42.8	28.2	18.5	30.5	38.8	4 568	38.8	1.8
Grenada	1.61	44.8	50.3	50.5	76.2	31.8	5.3	36.5	35.5	11.8	4.7	58.3	6 506	27.9	7.1
Hancock	1.92	33.4	29.9	22.3	70.2	24.6	5.6	19.0	40.2	21.9	27.1	57.2	6 485	20.6	9.0
Harrison	1.42	37.0	32.5	22.8	92.1	26.2	4.2	12.1	47.7	25.5	5.4	54.4	7 233	17.3	10.3
Hinds	1.51	46.5	47.6	42.4	63.3	28.8	3.4	13.8	55.2	20.4	5.4	62.4	8 272	19.1	17.6
Holmes	2.57	32.7	37.8	36.5	51.9	22.9	7.2	16.6	32.9	20.3	9.0	42.6	3 089	53.0	3.3
Humphreys	2.48	32.1	33.7	30.5	54.9	32.5	4.6	10.1	27.2	15.9	5.6	40.3	3 331	53.8	5.0
Issaquena	2.45	26.6	31.4	25.2	62.6	30.3	5.1	9.1	23.1	19.1	34.4	47.1	4 409	42.0	7.5
Itawamba	1.48	43.9	47.6	49.0	78.2	18.9	4.7	50.5	24.3	11.4	35.8	55.0	5 852	25.3	3.8
Jackson	1.70	36.1	33.8	27.9	81.8	24.4	4.6	41.0	42.6	15.9	13.3	61.2	8 548	11.3	12.8
Jasper	2.30	31.1	33.1	33.1	62.3	18.9	4.2	34.3	29.3	15.9	34.7	50.3	4 681	40.5	3.3
Jefferson	3.03	25.4	33.0	29.9	46.2	18.1	11.7	24.2	23.7	24.8	30.5	50.1	3 025	58.2	2.7
Jefferson Davis	2.36	30.1	34.5	27.1	49.4	26.1	5.5	24.0	34.6	20.6	26.7	48.3	4 569	39.2	5.8
Jones	1.84	35.0	37.5	30.8	65.0	19.7	3.3	24.8	36.8	15.7	9.2	59.8	6 630	22.5	7.7
Kemper	2.46	28.0	33.4	36.7	49.8	29.8	8.3	26.8	26.6	21.7	30.5	44.0	3 416	48.4	2.4
Lafayette	1.91	39.5	47.4	45.2	30.9	26.6	3.1	11.7	51.2	40.5	9.5	45.7	5 820	28.4	9.5
Lamar	2.00	32.2	34.5	23.4	70.9	22.5	6.0	29.1	32.7	16.7	42.8	50.7	5 704	27.6	6.4
Lauderdale	1.54	39.4	41.6	36.4	83.2	22.9	4.4	19.2	46.2	17.3	3.8	61.8	6 621	22.7	8.9
Lawrence	2.32	31.9	34.2	24.9	56.9	11.5	6.8	31.5	30.2	15.7	21.5	52.9	5 049	36.6	8.5
Leake	2.01	33.5	36.4	45.3	70.1	25.9	4.0	32.8	25.5	16.5	21.0	50.0	4 300	38.3	4.0
Lee	1.38	47.2	50.8	45.1	76.8	26.3	2.4	33.8	41.7	11.9	6.2	64.5	7 083	18.7	10.0
Leflore	1.90	41.3	48.4	44.2	67.1	32.9	6.2	16.0	39.5	19.8	4.9	55.3	5 315	36.3	8.2
Lincoln	1.80	36.9	38.3	32.4	71.7	26.5	3.9	27.6	34.2	13.5	17.3	57.9	5 646	29.0	6.3
Lowndes	1.49	44.1	46.5	39.5	81.7	30.5	4.5	26.2	43.5	19.7	4.5	60.4	6 788	23.1	9.5
Madison	2.17	36.6	40.6	41.1	63.6	23.5	3.6	29.9	33.5	16.6	27.4	54.6	4 896	39.5	6.1
Marion	2.11	35.5	38.3	32.3	57.2	17.2	5.2	29.2	33.6	14.7	13.1	45.9	4 976	36.7	5.2
Marshall	2.44	31.6	36.6	35.7	58.7	26.1	6.7	29.0	29.7	16.0	27.2	52.3	4 671	43.9	5.0
Monroe	1.54	47.2	53.0	52.8	79.2	18.2	4.1	46.7	25.6	10.7	16.1	57.9	6 167	24.0	5.3
Montgomery	1.83	38.9	44.2	42.9	64.9	22.6	5.3	35.1	32.7	14.0	16.8	57.6	4 894	37.6	4.6
Neshoba	1.76	40.0	44.5	45.7	74.1	19.9	4.9	36.7	28.7	19.7	15.4	55.4	5 504	29.9	4.4
Newton	1.76	37.9	42.3	39.2	61.2	16.2	3.1	32.3	31.8	16.3	19.0	51.4	5 437	29.2	6.4
Noxubee	2.22	32.7	37.9	38.6	73.1	30.9	9.6	22.2	23.8	11.2	11.6	50.9	3 891	47.3	4.9
Oktibbeha	1.82	41.6	45.1	44.3	44.2	20.1	5.6	14.3	49.2	42.6	8.1	45.3	5 878	28.7	11.0
Panola	1.98	38.7	43.9	54.9	71.3	26.0	7.3	28.7	27.8	15.0	14.2	52.3	4 982	38.3	5.3
Pearl River	1.86	33.7	32.5	24.4	73.1	19.2	6.0	31.1	38.4	14.3	30.0	54.0	6 403	25.9	8.9
Perry	2.04	36.4	43.0	35.9	79.9	15.9	4.0	38.7	29.4	18.2	34.8	52.5	5 390	30.8	2.3
Pike	1.93	36.7	38.8	31.7	61.1	19.3	4.0	24.5	39.4	15.2	7.1	59.6	5 284	30.8	6.2
Pontotoc	1.73	40.4	43.0	46.6	74.6	20.2	4.4	39.3	29.0	13.8	31.6	54.3	4 977	32.4	3.1
Prentiss	1.46	47.8	55.3	64.4	67.1	17.4	5.1	44.6	26.9	13.2	18.8	59.0	5 899	24.7	4.0
Quitman	2.55	35.4	38.5	41.7	62.7	22.9	8.8	21.6	30.1	17.8	19.3	36.1	3 631	49.8	5.7
Rankin	1.80	40.5	48.5	43.7	66.6	15.1	3.2	19.0	39.5	20.6	47.4	64.3	7 630	15.6	8.7
Scott	1.92	37.1	40.5	38.6	74.7	22.2	2.8	40.0	26.4	10.6	13.6	60.4	4 999	32.2	4.4
Sharkey	2.21	38.7	43.6	45.2	63.3	29.5	12.2	10.7	34.3	21.1	9.5	39.9	3 770	47.2	7.8
Simpson	1.93	37.6	40.1	33.8	73.2	19.1	2.1	33.3	26.0	16.4	19.0	63.8	5 418	30.0	4.8
Smith	1.81	38.0	38.9	40.4	65.0	26.1	2.9	33.3	22.7	13.8	20.0	51.2	5 475	32.5	4.7
Stone	1.80	36.6	38.0	24.4	63.2	19.8	1.7	27.5	34.5	20.9	23.8	48.5	6 518	23.4	7.2
Sunflower	2.42	39.4	46.7	46.2	46.5	23.8	7.9	15.1	34.8	20.4	9.0	44.5	4 024	46.2	6.9
Tallahatchie	2.65	33.3	35.3	31.6	60.3	24.8	6.1	19.4	28.2	17.0	16.9	38.6	3 362	49.9	4.8
Tate	2.04	36.1	38.0	36.8	64.5	21.7	5.2	27.2	30.8	16.1	21.5	51.9	5 394	33.0	5.9
Tippah	1.65	42.0	47.1	49.8	66.8	20.1	3.3	36.9	27.7	13.5	13.6	54.7	4 907	31.9	3.5
Tishomingo	1.67	40.0	44.9	51.8	67.9	12.0	9.5	45.3	25.5	14.6	25.7	54.2	5 552	24.4	3.0
Tunica	2.90	32.7	33.8	28.6	54.3	18.2	10.3	13.0	24.9	14.9	4.8	38.7	2 885	55.6	4.6
Union	1.62	38.5	43.3	45.1	81.2	19.8	3.7	40.8	32.6	14.8	18.5	57.7	5 677	27.6	6.2
Walthall	2.07	34.4	37.6	42.7	64.3	21.9	3.9	27.7	28.3	17.7	29.1	51.2	4 807	35.5	4.6
Warren	1.70	41.7	43.6	37.2	67.4	25.3	4.4	20.9	45.8	24.0	2.9	63.9	7 374	22.2	12.4
Washington	1.93	41.3	43.7	40.1	66.6	26.4	7.5	19.2	42.4	17.8	3.4	53.2	5 760	34.1	9.7
Wayne	2.14	32.7	32.8	30.6	70.9	16.0	4.6	31.4	31.1	15.0	13.9	38.5	5 190	36.5	4.1
Webster	1.96	33.2	37.2	31.1	67.7	18.5	4.5	40.9	27.8	13.9	27.7	57.1	4 883	33.9	2.1
Wilkinson	2.21	33.8	33.6	32.6	68.8	29.8	12.4	32.2	23.5	15.0	27.1	47.3	3 882	47.9	3.3
Winston	2.11	34.9	35.6	34.7	62.3	19.9	5.6	39.7	30.9	11.5	15.3	59.2	5 279	32.8	6.1
Yalobusha	1.83	40.9	47.3	57.7	75.0	16.3	3.6	34.9	28.6	18.5	18.8	47.9	4 670	37.2	4.5
Yazoo	2.13	34.5	37.9	30.7	65.4	25.0	4.2	20.6	33.9	15.0	6.3	54.3	4 648	42.4	6.5

Source: Same as Table 3.

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF POOR, SEVERELY POOR, AND NEAR POOR FAMILIES, AND PERCENT OF TOTAL, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	POOR[1]		SEVERELY POOR[2]		NEAR POOR[3]	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Adams	2,607	28.6	1,950	21.4	3,071	33.7
Alcorn	1,669	22.3	1,120	14.9	2,128	28.4
Amite	1,379	42.1	1,065	32.5	1,671	51.1
Attala	1,855	37.2	1,423	28.5	2,201	44.1
Benton	678	38.2	474	26.7	816	45.9
Bolivar	4,559	44.3	3,671	35.7	5,308	51.6
Calhoun	1,245	32.5	910	23.7	1,630	42.5
Carroll	951	42.6	703	31.5	1,151	51.5
Chickasaw	1,334	32.0	931	22.3	1,625	39.0
Choctaw	766	35.1	579	26.5	916	42.0
Claiborne	884	42.0	654	31.1	1,056	50.2
Clarke	1,241	32.7	890	23.4	1,496	39.4
Clay	1,446	25.9	890	20.1	1,490	33.6
Coahoma	3,785	42.8	3,060	34.6	4,458	50.4
Copiah	2,049	35.4	1,537	26.6	2,517	43.5
Covington	1,090	31.6	819	23.8	1,364	39.6
DeSoto	1,967	23.3	1,488	17.6	2,473	29.3
Forrest	3,096	21.9	2,184	15.4	4,203	29.7
Franklin	756	37.8	522	26.1	926	46.3
George	681	21.6	440	14.0	962	30.5
Greene	840	38.8	568	26.3	1,068	49.4
Grenada	1,377	27.9	1,035	21.0	1,709	34.6
Hancock	891	20.6	557	12.9	1,267	29.3
Harrison	5,474	17.3	3,532	11.2	7,693	24.3
Hinds	9,923	19.1	7,137	13.8	12,812	24.7
Holmes	2,673	53.0	2,165	42.9	3,047	60.4
Humphreys	1,704	53.8	1,373	43.4	1,931	61.0
Issaquena	242	42.0	195	33.9	306	53.1
Itawamba	1,200	25.3	771	16.3	1,582	33.4
Jackson	2.469	11.3	1,602	7.3	3,749	17.2
Jasper	1,616	40.5	1,263	31.6	1,927	48.3
Jefferson	1,189	58.2	974	47.7	1,401	68.6
Jefferson Davis	1,183	39.2	966	32.0	1,472	48.7
Jones	3,218	22.5	2,162	15.1	4,272	29.9
Kemper	1,124	48.4	918	39.6	1,310	56.4
Lafayette	1,538	28.4	1,105	20.4	1,990	36.7
Lamar	1,086	27.6	662	16.8	1,459	37.1
Lauderdale	3,839	22.7	2,690	15.9	5.064	29.9
Lawrence	1,040	36.6	774	27.3	1,194	42.0
Leake	1,720	38.3	1,248	27.8	2,134	47.5
Lee	2,342	18.7	1,596	12.8	3,234	25.8
Leflore	3,467	36.8	2,524	26.4	4,148	43.4

Lincoln	1,944	29.0	1,370	20.5	2,456	36.7
Lowndes	2,726	23.1	1,950	16.5	3,586	30.4
Madison	2,533	39.5	1,835	26.4	3,133	45.3
Marion	2,072	36.7	1,492	26.4	2,562	45.3
Marshall	2,241	43.9	1,737	34.0	2,619	51.3
Monroe	2,101	24.0	1,541	17.6	2,922	33.3
Montgomery	1,217	37.6	903	27.9	1,434	44.3
Neshoba	1,648	29.9	1,134	20.6	2,039	37.0
Newton	1,453	29.2	1,046	21.0	1,906	38.4
Noxubee	1,463	47.3	1,185	38.3	1,703	55.1
Oktibbeha	1,763	28.7	1,349	21.9	2,210	35.0
Panola	2,390	38.3	1,804	28.9	2,818	45.1
Pearl River	1,807	25.9	1,279	18.3	2,291	32.8
Perry	689	30.8	479	21.4	955	42.6
Pike	2,396	30.8	1,684	21.7	3.037	29.1
Pontotoc	1,522	32.4	1,041	22.1	1,862	39.6
Prentiss	1,351	24.7	870	15.9	1,835	33.5
Quitman	1,701	49.8	1,365	40.0	1,926	56.4
Rankin	1,559	15.6	1,073	10.7	2,256	22.6
Scott	1,720	32.2	1,180	22.1	2,213	41.4
Sharkey	864	47.2	672	36.7	1,011	55.2
Simpson	1,500	30.0	1,068	21.4	1,937	38.7
Smith	1,171	32.5	891	24.7	1,395	38.7
Stone	459	23.4	294	15.0	596	30.4
Sunflower	3,559	46.2	2,831	36.7	4,109	53.3
Tallahatchie	2,126	49.9	1,667	39.1	2,372	55.7
Tate	1,385	33.0	1,040	24.8	1,734	41.4
Tippah	1,376	31.9	926	21.5	1,806	41.9
Tishomingo	1,028	24.4	700	16.6	1,474	35.0
Tunica	1,285	55.6	949	41.1	1,506	65.2
Union	1,464	27.6	971	18.3	1,825	34.4
Walthall	1,093	35.5	770	25.0	1,364	44.3
Warren	2,400	22.2	1,629	15.1	3,127	28.9
Washington	5,387	34.1	4,011	25.4	6,535	41.3
Wayne	1,469	36.5	1,053	26.2	1,754	43.6
Webster	889	33.9	681	26.0	1,123	42.8
Wilkinson	1,180	47.9	787	32.0	1,430	58.1
Winston	1,554	32.8	1,110	23.6	1,827	38.8
Yalobusha	1,149	37.2	794	25.7	1,375	44.5
Yazoo	2,716	42.4	2,172	33.9	3,115	48.6

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

1. Families in Mississippi in 1970 according to 1969 reported money income according SAA poverty thresholds.

2. Reported family income less than 75% of poverty level.

3. Reported family income less than 125% of poverty level. This column includes all those included in the prior columns plus those with incomes less than 125% of the cut off threshold. Column three includes the poor and the "near poor" by this measure.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF SEVERELY POOR, AND NEAR POOR PERSONS, AND PERCENT OF TOTAL, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTIES	POOR		SEVERELY POOR		NEAR POOR	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Adams	13,153	35.5	9,553	25.7	14,877	40.1
Alcorn	6,778	25.1	4,701	17.3	8,585	31.7
Amite	6,717	48.9	5,190	37.7	7,896	57.4
Attala	8,661	44.3	6,699	34.2	9,977	51.0
Benton	3,424	45.7	2,654	35.4	4,032	53.7
Bolivar	25,069	52.1	20,585	41.8	29,070	59.0
Calhoun	5,496	37.7	3,995	27.3	6,890	47.1
Carroll	4,614	49.2	3,617	38.5	5,380	57.3
Chickasaw	6,160	36.7	4,217	25.1	7,534	44.8
Choctaw	3,416	40.5	2,534	30.0	4,167	49.4
Claiborne	4,845	52.1	3,570	35.4	5,615	55.7
Clarke	5,559	37.0	4,173	27.7	6,677	44.4
Clay	5,999	32.6	4,779	25.4	7,718	41.1
Coahoma	21,824	54.6	17,541	43.5	24,133	59.9
Copiah	10,129	41.7	7,949	32.2	12,215	49.5
Covington	5,174	37.0	3,759	26.8	6,427	45.9
Desoto	10,745	30.0	8,233	23.0	13,239	36.9
Forrest	15,157	27.8	11,080	19.2	19,618	34.1
Franklin	3,559	44.5	2,585	32.3	4,144	51.7
George	3,053	24.5	1,883	15.1	4,163	33.4
Greene	3,626	42.5	2,505	29.3	4,584	53.7
Grenada	6,534	33.3	5,068	25.8	8,112	41.3
Hancock	4,140	24.0	2,818	16.3	5,811	33.5
Harrison	25,104	20.3	16,869	13.6	34,909	28.1
Hinds	53,714	25.6	39,461	18.4	66,761	31.2
Holmes	14,041	62.0	11,642	50.4	15,695	67.9
Humphreys	9,394	64.5	7,791	53.4	10,167	69.6
Issaquena	1,367	49.9	1,037	37.9	1,631	59.2
Itawamba	4,233	25.4	2,764	16.5	5,801	34.5
Jackson	11,830	13.5	7,570	8.6	18,270	20.9
Jasper	7,571	47.4	5,756	36.0	8,633	54.0
Jefferson	6,239	67.2	5,121	55.1	7,060	76.0
Jefferson Davis	5,584	43.7	4,552	35.1	6,805	52.6
Jones	14,835	27.2	10,239	18.7	19,017	34.7
Kemper	5,648	56.1	4,625	45.2	6,573	64.2
Lafayette	7,140	34.2	5,187	21.6	9,032	37.6
Lamar	4,929	32.5	3,280	21.6	6,439	42.4
Lauderdale	18,762	29.0	13,411	20.7	23,814	36.8
Lawrence	4,531	40.8	3,489	31.3	5,095	45.7
Leake	7,588	44.4	5,571	32.6	9,022	52.8
Lee	10,517	22.9	1,177	15.0	13,896	30.2
Leflore	19,598	47.3	14,800	35.4	22,309	53.3

Lincoln	9,043	34.9	6,464	24.8	11,159	42.8
Lowndes	13,532	28.8	9,725	20.0	17,218	35.4
Madison	14,305	48.8	10,107	34.1	16,691	56.3
Marion	9,349	41.6	6,819	30.3	11,678	51.9
Marshall	12,393	52.6	9,733	40.6	14,145	59.0
Monroe	10,025	29.5	7,580	22.3	13,326	39.2
Montgomery	5,780	45.1	4,388	34.1	6,714	52.2
Neshoba	7,567	36.6	5,421	26.2	9,002	43.4
Newton	6,362	34.5	4,563	24.0	8,011	42.2
Noxubee	8,394	59.0	6,873	48.1	9,297	65.1
Oktibbeha	9,618	37.3	8,048	28.0	11,823	41.1
Panola	12,009	44.8	9,371	34.9	14,250	53.1
Pearl River	8,096	29.5	5,999	21.6	10,268	37.0
Perry	3,252	35.9	2,312	25.5	4,383	48.4
Pike	12,124	38.6	8,998	28.4	14,867	47.0
Pontotoc	5,928	34.3	4,200	24.3	7,158	41.4
Prentiss	5,719	28.6	3,831	19.1	7,615	38.0
Quitman	9,153	58.3	7,872	50.0	10,364	65.9
Rankin	7,458	18.9	4,971	12.6	10,837	27.4
Scott	7,997	37.5	5,381	25.2	9,902	46.4
Sharkey	5,091	57.0	4,114	46.0	5,843	65.4
Simpson	7,032	35.8	5,204	26.5	8,793	44.7
Smith	4,635	34.2	3,391	25.0	5,508	40.6
Stone	2,166	28.4	1,388	17.3	2,815	35.1
Sunflower	20,289	57.8	16,158	45.6	22,283	62.9
Tallahatchie	11,761	61.3	9,699	50.2	12,681	65.6
Tate	7,332	41.1	5,858	31.6	9,097	49.1
Tippah	5,594	35.6	3,515	22.2	7,055	44.6
Tishomingo	3,868	25.9	2,709	18.1	5,486	36.7
Tunica	7,816	66.3	6,337	53.7	8,870	.1
Union	6,304	33.2	4,125	21.7	7,320	38.5
Walthall	5,398	43.4	4,062	32.6	6,415	51.5
Warren	12,468	28.0	8,670	19.4	15,935	35.7
Washington	29,048	41.4	21,955	31.2	34,465	49.0
Wayne	6,971	42.2	5,263	31.7	8,087	48.7
Webster	3,826	38.5	3,019	30.1	4,770	47.5
Wilkinson	5,899	53.2	4,215	38.0	7,162	64.5
Winston	7,218	39.3	5,331	29.0	8,416	45.7
Yalobusha	5,331	45.1	3,592	30.2	5,973	49.8
Yazoo	13,952	51.3	11,074	40.7	15,150	55.6

Source: Same as Table 7.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF POOR PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLDS, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER NONWHITE	SPANISH SPEAKING
Adams	13,153	1,733	11,385	35	10
Alcorn	6,778	5,042	1,730	6	12
Amite	6,717	2,048	4,669	0	0
Attala	8,669	2,608	6,021	40	NA
Benton	3,424	1,277	2,147	0	0
Bolivar	25,069	3,460	21,586	23	227
Calhoun	5,496	2,897	2,599	0	30
Carroll	4,614	1,030	3,584	0	0
Chickasaw	6,160	2,612	3,548	0	NA
Choctaw	3,416	1,885	1,531	0	NA
Claiborne	4,845	281	4,564	0	NA
Clarke	5,559	2,110	3,434	15	NA
Clay	5,999	1,148	4,851	0	NA
Coahoma	21,824	1,692	20,090	42	0
Copiah	10,129	2,450	7,679	0	0
Covington	5,174	2,031	3,123	0	0
Desoto	10,745	2,720	8,025	0	0
Forrest	15,157	7,350	7,720	87	66
Franklin	3,559	1,146	2,413	0	0
George	3,053	2,344	709	0	0
Greene	3,626	2,321	1,305	0	0
Grenada	6,534	1,589	4,945	0	NA
Hancock	4,140	3,036	1,104	0	13
Harrison	14,537	10,437	24,537	130	276
Honds	53,741	11,293	42,353	95	83
Holmes	14,041	1,853	12,188	0	0
Humphreys	9,394	1,399	7,983	12	NA
Issaquena	1,367	159	1,208	0	NA
Itawamba	4,233	3,801	432	0	NA
Jackson	11,830	7,544	4,270	16	63
Jasper	7,571	2,131	5,440	0	0
Jefferson	6,239	658	5,581	0	0
Jefferson Davis	5,584	1,451	4,133	0	0
Jones	14,835	7,515	7,265	55	NA
Kemper	5,648	1,304	4,164	180	0
Lafayette	7,140	2,899	4,235	6	0
Lamar	4,929	3,474	1,455	0	0
Lauderdale	18,762	6,378	12,324	60	67
Lawrence	4,531	2,038	2,489	4	0
Leake	7,588	2,999	4,143	446	NA

Lee	10,517	5,802	4,715	0	0
Leflore	19,598	2,652	16,839	107	7
Lincoln	9,043	3,797	5,226	20	NA
Lowndes	13,532	3,417	10,115	0	42
Madison	14,305	1,580	12,725	0	NA
Marion	9,349	4,500	4,814	35	0
Marshall	12,393	1,756	10,637	0	0
Monroe	10,025	3,949	6,076	0	NA
Montgomery	5,780	1,760	4,020	0	0
Neshoba	7,567	3,926	2,758	883	0
Newton	6,302	2,827	3,191	344	18
Noxubee	8,394	897	7,488	9	0
Oktibbeha	9,618	2,976	6,553	89	0
Panola	12,009	2,708	9,294	7	NA
Pearl River	8,096	5,469	2,607	20	0
Perry	3,352	1,909	1,338	5	0
Pike	12,124	3,389	8,735	0	53
Pontotoc	5,928	3,955	1,973	0	0
Prentiss	5,719	4,566	1,153	0	NA
Quitman	9,153	1,650	7,503	0	NA
Rankin	7,458	2,701	4,709	48	0
Scott	7,997	3,725	4,272	0	NA
Sharkey	5,091	436	4,655	0	0
Simpson	7,032	3,496	3,536	0	NA
Smith	4,635	2,796	1,790	49	NA
Stone	2,166	1,163	1,003	0	NA
Sunflower	20,299	2,376	17,872	51	54
Tallahatchie	11,761	2,182	9,574	5	0
Tate	7,332	1,566	5,766	0	0
Tippah	5,594	4,007	1,587	0	0
Tishomingo	3,868	3,508	360	0	0
Tunica	7,816	206	7,110	0	NA
Union	6,304	4,155	2,149	0	0
Walthall	5,398	1,819	3,579	0	0
Warren	12,468	2,344	10,107	17	0
Washington	29,048	4,343	24,613	92	106
Wayne	6,971	2,842	4,119	10	NA
Webster	3,826	2,201	1,625	0	0
Wilkinson	5,899	623	5,258	18	NA
Winston	7,218	2,134	4,914	170	0
Yalobusha	5,331	1,937	3,394	0	NA
Yazoo	13,952	1,820	12,132	0	NA

A household includes all persons who occupy a room or group of rooms which constitute a housing unit.

Source: 4th Count Summary Tapes, 1970 Census

TABLE 9

ESTIMATED POPULATION, 1975, AND CHANGE, 1970-1975, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY	POPULATION 1975	CHANGE 1970 NUMBER	PERCENT
Adams	38,700	1,400	3.7
Alcorn	28,900	1,700	6.2
Amite	13,000	-800	-5.8
Attala	19,000	-600	-2.9
Benton	7,300	-200	-3.0
Bolivar	48,300	-1,100	-2.2
Calhoun	15,400	700	5.0
Carroll	8,600	-800	-8.2
Chickasaw	17,400	600	3.8
Choctaw	9,100	600	7.7
Claiborne	10,800	700	7.0
Clarke	15,100	100	0.7
Clay	19,500	600	3.3
Coahoma	38,400	-2,100	-5.1
Copiah	25,500	800	3.1
Covington	14,400	400	2.7
De Soto	48,500	12,600	35.1
Forrest	60,400	2,600	4.4
Franklin	8,300	300	4.0
George	13,700	1,200	9.8
Greene	8,900	300	3.6
Grenada	20,200	400	1.8
Hancock	18,100	800	4.4
Harrison	146,800	12,300	9.1
Hinds	231,400	16,400	7.6
Holmes	23,000	-100	-0.6
Humphreys	14,000	-600	-4.1
Issaquena	2,300	-400	-14.7
Itawamba	18,000	1,200	6.9
Jackson	105,800	17,800	20.2
Jasper	16,500	500	3.1
Jefferson	8,600	-700	-7.6
Jefferson Davis	12,900	(z)	-0.2
Jones	58,800	2,400	4.2
Kemper	10,200	(z)	-0.1
Lafayette	27,200	3,000	12.4
Lamar	18,300	3,000	20.0
Lauderdale	72,100	5,000	7.5
Lawrence	11,900	800	6.9
Leake	17,700	600	3.3

Lee	51,700	5,500	12.0
Leflore	40,900	-1,200	-2.8
Lincoln	26,700	500	1.8
Lowndes	54,200	4,500	9.1
Madison	32,800	3,000	10.2
Marion	24,100	1,200	5.2
Marshall	27,500	3,500	14.6
Monroe	34,400	300	0.9
Montgomery	13,400	500	3.6
Neshoba	22,600	1,800	8.8
Newton	19,800	800	4.5
Noxubee	12,800	-1,500	-10.3
Oktibbeha	31,400	2,600	9.1
Panola	27,600	800	2.9
Pearl River	27,600	-200	-0.6
Perry	9,900	800	2.9
Pike	34,000	2,100	6.7
Pontotoc	19,500	2,100	12.3
Prentiss	20,900	800	4.0
Quitman	14,300	-1,500	-9.7
Rankin	57,000	13,100	29.8
Scott	22,000	700	3.2
Sharkey	8,000	-900	-10.0
Simpson	21,200	1,300	6.4
Smith	14,600	1,000	7.3
Stone	8,400	300	3.8
Sunflower	35,600	-1,500	-4.0
Tallahatchie	18,000	-1,400	-7.0
Tate	20,600	2,000	10.9
Tippah	17,600	1,800	11.2
Tishomingo	15,500	600	4.0
Tunica	10,800	-1,100	-9.0
Union	20,700	1,600	8.2
Walthall	12,600	100	1.1
Warren	47,400	2,500	5.5
Washington	70,500	-100	-0.1
Wayne	17,600	1,000	6.0
Webster	10,100	100	0.9
Wilkinson	9,700	-1,400	-12.3
Winston	19,800	1,400	7.4
Yalobusha	12,400	500	4.4
Yazoo	26,400	-900	-3.4

SOurce: Current Population Reports, "Estimates of the Population of Mississippi Counties and Metropolitan Areas: July 1, 1974 and 1975," Series p. 26, No. 75-24.

TABLE 10

COMPONENTS OF POPULATION CHANGE, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970-1975

COUNTY	COMPONENTS OF CHANGE, 1970 to 1975			
			Net Migration	
	Births	Deaths	Number	Percent
Adams	4,000	2,000	-700	-1.7
Alcorn	2,500	1,700	900	3.5
Amite	1,200	800	-1,200	-8.4
Attala	1,800	1,300	-1,100	-5.7
Benton	600	400	-400	-5.7
Bolivar	6,800	2,800	-5,100	-10.4
Calhoun	1,400	1,000	400	2.5
Carroll	800	500	-1,000	-10.8
Chickasaw	1,800	1,100	-100	-0.8
Choctaw	600	500	500	6.4
Claiborne	1,100	600	300	2.7
Clarke	1,400	1,100	-200	-1.3
Clay	2,100	1,000	-400	-2.1
Coahoma	4,600	2,500	-4,200	-10.4
Copiah	2,500	1,600	-100	-0.4
Covington	1,500	900	-200	-1.4
De Soto	4,300	1,500	9,700	27.1
Forrest	5,800	3,200	-100	-0.2
Franklin	700	600	200	2.7
George	1,500	600	400	2.9
Greene	1,000	500	-200	-2.0
Grenada	2,100	1,200	-500	-2.5
Hancock	1,500	1,000	200	1.2
Harrison	16,200	5,800	1,800	1.3
Hinds	22,300	9,600	3,800	1.7
Holmes	2,600	1,600	-1,200	-5.0
Humphreys	1,700	900	-1,300	-9.2
Issaquena	200	100	-500	-17.4
Itawamba	1,400	900	600	3.8
Jackson	11,100	3,000	9,700	11.0
Jasper	1,800	1,000	-200	-1.5
Jefferson	900	600	-1,100	-11.6
JEfferson Davis	1,400	800	-600	-4.7
Jones	5,100	3,400	700	1.2
Kemper	1,000	600	-400	-3.7
Lafayette	2,300	1,000	1,700	7.0
Lamar	1,800	800	2,100	13.8
Lauderdale	7,800	4,300	1,600	2.3
Lawrence	1,200	700	200	1.9
Leake	1,600	1,200	100	0.8

Lee	5,200	2,500	2,900	6.3
Leflore	4,900	2,600	3,500	-8.4
Lincoln	2,900	1,600	-800	-3.0
Lowndes	6,000	2,300	800	1.6
Madison	4,000	1,800	800	2.8
Marion	2,300	1,300	100	0.6
Marshall	3,000	1,300	1,800	7.6
Monroe	3,600	2,100	-1,200	-3.6
Montgomery	1,300	900	100	0.9
Neshoba	2,200	1,400	1,000	4.8
Newton	1,800	1,300	300	1.8
Noxubee	1,600	900	-2,100	-14.8
Oktibbeha	2,900	1,300	1,000	3.5
Panola	3,000	1,700	-500	-1.9
Pearl River	2,800	1,500	-1,500	-5.5
Perry	1,000	500	300	3.2
Pike	3,300	2,300	1,100	3.4
Pontotoc	1,500	1,200	1,800	10.1
Prentiss	1,900	1,200	200	0.9
Quitman	2,000	900	-2,600	-16.6
Rankin	4,700	1,700	10,100	23.0
Scott	2,400	1,300	-400	-2.0
Sharkey	1,200	500	-1,500	-17.3
Simpson	2,100	1,200	400	1.9
Smith	1,400	800	400	2.7
Stone	900	500	-100	-0.9
Sunflower	4,300	2,000	-3,800	-10.2
Tallahatchie	2,300	1,300	-2,400	-12.2
Tate	2,000	900	900	4.9
Tippah	1,600	900	1,100	7.0
Tishomingo	1,200	900	400	2.4
Tunica	1,500	700	-1,800	-15.2
Union	1,800	1,200	1,000	5.1
Walthall	1,200	800	-200	-1.9
Warren	5,000	2,800	300	0.6
Washington	8,900	4,000	-5,000	-7.0
Wayne	1,700	1,000	200	1.4
Webster	900	700	-100	-1.1
Wilkinson	1,000	700	-1,700	-15.1
Winston	1,900	1,200	600	3.5
Yalobusha	1,200	800	100	1.1
Yazoo	2,700	1,800	-1,900	-6.8

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*Births and deaths are based on reported vital statistics from April 1, 1970 to December 31, 1974, with extrapolations to June 30, 1975. Net migration is the difference between net change and natural increase.

Source: Same as Table 9

TABLE 11

ESTIMATED POPULATION, AGE 60 AND BEYOND, PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1975, AND NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE, 1970-1975, BY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT, MISSISSIPPI

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT	AGE 60 and BEYOND, 1975		CHANGE 1970-1975	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent
State	350,000	14.9	30,800	9.6
1 Total	26,000	14.6	1,500	6.0
Coahoma	6,500	17.0	200	3.4
Desoto	[illegible],200	8.7	700	18.7
Panola	4,900	17.8	500	11.1
Quitman	2,600	18.1	200	6.2
Tallahatchie	3,400	18.9	100	3.9
Tate	2,700	13.2	100	4.2
Tunica	1,600	15.0	300	15.4
2 Total	27,100	15.2	1,800	7.0
Bolivar	7,100	14.7	200	2.6
Humphreys	2,300	16.5	100	4.8
Issaquena	400	16.1	100	11.9
Sharkey	1,300	16.3		3.6
Sunflower	5,600	15.7	300	5.6
Washington	10,400	14.8	1,200	13.0
3 Total	25,200	18.3	1,400	5.8
Attala	4,100	21.7	300	7.8
Carroll	1,700	19.5	100	4.7
Grenada	3,300	16.5	200	7.6
Holmes	4,300	18.5	(Z)	0.4
Leflore	6,700	16.5	400	7.1
Montgomery	2,600	19.4	200	10.0
Yalobusha	2,500	20.0	100	2.7
4 Total	22,000	14.0	1,200	5.6

	Choctaw	1,800	19.7	100	6.1
	Clay	2,800	14.5	100	3.4
	Lowndes	6,300	11.6	400	7.2
	Noxubee	2,000	15.8	200	10.7
	Oktibbeha	3,500	11.6	400	7.2
	Webster	2,100	20.5	(Z)	1.5
	Winston	3,500	17.6	300	9.7
5	Total	32,700	16.0	2,500	8.4
	Calhoun	2,900	18.7	100	5.0
	Chickasaw	3,000	17.0	100	5.0
	Itawamba	3,400	18.7	500	18.5
	Lafayette	3,300	12.0	300	9.0
	Lee	7,000	13.6	500	7.8
	Monroe	5,700	16.5	300	5.5
	Pontotoc	3,700	18.9	300	9.9
	Union	3,800	18.5	300	8.9
6	Total	20,000	16.9	1,800	10.2
	Alcorn	5,200	17.9	500	10.9
	Benton	1,400	18.9	100	10.0
	Marshall	3,400	12.4	300	9.7
	Prentiss	3,900	18.7	500	14.5
	Tippah	3,100	17.3	200	7.0
	Tishomingo	3,000	19.5	200	7.7
7	Total	60,700	13.7	7,000	13.0
	Copiah	4,600	18.0	200	4.0
	Hinds	29,400	12.7	4,500	17.9
	Madison	4,400	13.6	300	8.4
	Rankin	6,700	11.7	1,000	18.2
	Simpson	3,700	17.6	400	13.1
	Warren	7,000	14.8	200	3.1
	Yazoo	4,800	18.3	300	7.7
8	Total	36,600	17.4	2,300	6.8
	Clarke	2,900	19.3	200	5.7
	Jasper	2,700	16.1	(Z)	1.1
	Kemper	2,200	21.7	200	12.6

	Lauderdale	11,200	15.5	500	4.2
	Leake	3,600	20.6	400	11.2
	Neshoba	4,000	17.6	300	8.2
	Newton	3,700	18.4	100	1.4
	Scott	3,800	17.4	500	14.1
	Smith	2,500	16.9	200	10.6
9	Total	69,000	12.7	8,500	14.0
	Covington	2,400	16.7	200	8.2
	Forrest	8,700	14.4	900	11.3
	George	2,000	14.3	300	21.0
	Greene	1,400	15.3		3.5
	Hancock	3,000	16.7	500	18.6
	Harrison	15,000	10.5	2,000	15.2
	Jackson	8,500	8.0	1,800	27.6
	Jefferson	2,400	18.3	300	14.9
	Jones	9,800	16.7	58,800	11.0
	Lamar	2,300	12.7	18,300	7.5
	Marion	4,000	16.6	24,100	12.4
	Pearl River	4,000	14.4	27,600	15.5
	Perry	1,400	13.8	9,900	1.0
	Stone	1,200	14.7	8,400	5.2
	Wayne	2,600	14.9	17,600	8.8
10	Total	30,600	17.6	2,800	9.9
	Adams	5,700	14.8	800	16.4
	Amite	2,500	19.2		1.5
	Claiborne	1,800	16.6	200	14.2
	Franklin	1,600	19.6		2.0
	Jefferson	1,600	18.5	100	3.8
	Lawrence	1,900	15.7	100	4.3
	Lincoln	5,000	18.7	600	14.9
	Pike	6,200	18.2	500	9.0
	Walthall	2,300	18.5	300	13.5
	Wilkinson	2,100	21.1	200	11.7

Less than 50 persons or less than 0.05 percent
Source: Mississippi Council on Aging

TABLE 12

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION[1], BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER NONWHITE	SPANISH SPEAKING
Adams	19,249	17,780	14	127
Alcorn	9,284	2,182	51	96
Amite	6,821	6,928	0	0
Attala	4,529	2,638	93	*
Benton	4,350	3,149	0	0
Bolivar	18,020	30,070	67	447
Calhoun	10,787	3,806	0	28
Carroll	4,611	4,753	5	0
Chickasaw	10,808	5,964	4	*
Choctaw	6,070	2,359	0	*
Claiborne	2,564	6,736	0	*
Clarke	9,615	5,389	19	*
Clay	9,479	8,943	6	*
Coanoma	14,107	25,612	227	36
Copiah	1,853	12,399	10	70
Covington	9,432	4,552	0	0
DeSoto	23,233	12,576	15	87
Forrest	40,365	13,985	118	316
Franklin	4,892	3,104	5	0
George	10,984	1,448	14	137
Greene	6,652	1,868	15	0
Grenada	10,980	8,633	0	*
Hancock	14,814	2,447	22	236
Harrison	101,728	21,720	375	2197
Hinds	127,545	82,320	138	669
Holmes	6,917	15,673	40	0
Humphreys	5,127	9,421	14	*
Issaquena	1,039	1,698	0	*
Itawamba	15,799	893	5	*
Jackson	73,207	14,121	106	608
Jasper	8,571	7,410	7	49
Jefferson	2,299	6,981	0	0
Jefferson Davis	6,435	6,334	0	27
Jones	41,075	13,339	114	*
Kemper	4,282	5,602	179	0
Lafayette	14,250	6,603	53	97
Lamar	13,151	2,001	0	45
Lauderdale	44,228	20.266	111	496
Lawrence	7,546	3,562	4	0
Leake	10,372	6,085	618	*
Lee	36,336	9,523	14	63
Leflore	17,364	23,970	135	64
Lincoln	17,930	7,981	29	*
Lowndes	30,914	16,405	65	159
Madison	11,107	18,233	0	*
Marion	15,465	6,991	37	62
Marshall	9,091	14,471	4	47
Monroe	23,630	10,353	6	*

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Montgomery	7,043	5,774	5	61
Neshoba	15,295	4,098	1,288	*
Newton	12,845	5,178	443	35
Noxubee	4,827	9,380	19	59
Oktibbeha	15,689	9,958	152	84
Panola	13,034	13,749	15	*
Pearl River	22,322	5,109	9	90
Perry	6,674	2,378	5	12
Pike	17,636	13,776	7	137
Pontotoc	14,144	3,097	41	0
Prentiss	17,671	2,305	0	*
Quitman	6,730	8,938	38	*
Rankin	29,314	10,139	81	146
Scott	14,262	7,049	12	*
Sharkey	3,137	5,779	11	0
Simpson	13,504	6,103	31	*
Smith	10,620	2,881	53	*
Stone	5,799	1,831	5	*
Sunflower	5,246	11,723	93	*
Tallahatchie	1,248	1,339	34	0
Tate	9,183	8,660	4	0
Tippah	13,116	2,567	20	0
Tishomingo	14,260	669	0	0
Tunica	3,240	8,554	0	*
Union	16,051	2,944	6	44
Walthall	7,343	5,088	6	0
Warren	126,218	18,201	114	209
Washington	31,733	38,196	247	145
Wayne	11,051	5,470	17	*
Webster	7,692	2,251	0	0
Wilkinson	3,583	7,494	17	*
Winston	10,946	7,158	252	0
Yalobusha	7,077	4.743	0	*
Yazoo	12,678	14,512	0	*

Source: 1970 Census 4th Court Summary Tape

* Number not disclosed

[1] Persons in households

TABLE 13

SPECIFIED HOUSING DATA, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	TOTAL (ALL INCOME) FAMILY HOUSING UNITS			POOR FAMILIES PERCENT UNITS WITH INADEQUATE PLUMBING
		INADEQUATE PLUMBING		
	NUMBER	NUMBER	PERCENT	
Adams	11,949	2,765	23.1	43.9
Alcorn	9,376	2,087	22.3	36.8
Amite	4,339	1,657	38.2	60.1
Attala	6,590	2,385	36.2	54.0
Benton	2,631	998	37.9	56.5
Bolivar	13,829	5,385	39.0	58.9
Calhoun	4,885	1,396	28.6	40.9
Carroll	2,993	1,524	50.9	60.0
Chickasaw	5,358	1,653	30.7	46.1
Choctaw	2,849	1,084	38.0	47.1
Claiborne	3,047	1,460	47.9	69.4
Clarke	5,077	1,705	33.6	48.5
Clay	5,663	1,784	31.5	51.5
Coahoma	12,736	5,214	40.9	55.5
Copiah	7,646	2,665	34.9	49.8
Covington	4,254	1,305	30.7	55.8
DeSoto	10,205	2,891	28.3	57.6
Forrest	18,961	2,306	12.2	24.1
Franklin	2,781	1,064	38.3	58.5
George	3,924	930	23.7	45.3
Greene	2,718	875	32.2	50.7
Grenada	6,509	1,743	26.8	47.9
Hancock	7,330	714	9.7	13.7
Harrison	41,541	2,361	5.7	13.3
Hinds	67,261	4,499	6.7	12.7
Holmes	7,097	3,475	50.0	58.2
Humphreys	4,233	1,876	44.3	56.8
Issaquena	866	401	46.3	78.4
Itawamba	5,616	1,480	26.3	3.67
Jackson	27,584	1,738	6.3	56.4
Jasper	4,973	1,831	36.9	63.2
Jefferson	2,648	1,474	55.7	62.8
Jefferson Davis	3,883	1,484	38.2	57.8
Jones	18,171	2,680	14.7	26.3
Kemper	3,147	1,579	50.2	62.5
Lafayette	7,226	1,823	25.2	36.3
Lamar	4,929	831	16.9	22.4
Lauderdale	22,728	3,510	15.4	28.5
Lawrence	3,586	1,011	28.2	46.2
Leake	5,745	2,033	45.8	37.0
Lee	15,405	2,654	17.2	33.2
Leflore	13,022	3,801	29.2	45.4
Lincoln	8,650	1,814	21.0	38.7
Lowndes	15,395	3,320	21.6	48.5
Madison	8,194	3,242	39.6	61.7
Marion	7,356	1,731	23.5	35.8
Marshall	6,542	3,083	47.1	62.7
Monroe	11,151	2,758	24.8	40.2

Montgomery	4,235	1,385	32.7	48.5
Neshoba	7,048	2,156	30.6	44.7
Newton	6,534	1,756	26.9	34.8
Noxubee	4,393	2,339	53.2	77.0
Oktibbeha	8,000	2,172	26.8	47.3
Panola	7,944	3,212	40.4	59.0
Pearl River	8,850	1.056	11.9	17.4
Perry	2,852	898	31.5	49.1
Pike	10,599	1,904	18.0	26.4
Pontotoc	5,908	1,546	26.2	40.0
Prentiss	6,578	1,654	25.1	35.6
Quitman	4,890	2,326	47.6	55.7
Rankin	12,097	2,275	18.8	42.3
Scott	6,644	1,934	29.1	40.5
Sharkey	2,474	1,022	41.3	63.4
Simpson	6,419	1,734	27.0	42.4
Smith	4,444	1,305	29.4	46.9
Stone	2,499	468	18.7	37.1
Sunflower	10,183	3,926	38.5	49.7
Tallahatchie	6,159	3,290	53.4	60.9
Tate	5.204	1,926	37.0	50.8
Tippah	6,611	1,792	31.9	39.7
Tishomingo	5,725	1,427	24.9	32.6
Tunica	3,876	2,430	62.3	66.7
Union	6,714	1,745	26.0	43.2
Walthall	4,011	1,096	27.3	38.4
Warren	15,004	3,143	20.9	41.4
Washington	21,018	4,256	20.2	28.9
Wayne	5,088	1,676	32.9	53.5
Webster	3,391	3,107	91.6	47.7
Wilkinson	3,322	1,758	52.9	71.4
Winston	5,863	1,904	32.5	47.8
Yalobusha	4,145	1,435	34.6	44.6
Yazoo	8,649	3,314	38.3	54.0

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970; Mississippi Statistical Abstract.

TABLE 14

SPECIFIED EDUCATIONAL DATA, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	PERCENT ENROLLED AGE 14 AND 15	PERCENT ENROLLED IN SCHOOL AGE 16 & 17	PERSONS AGE 25 AND OVER		
				UNDER 8 YEARS EDUCATION	
			NUMBER	NUMBER	PERCENT
Adams	95.1	91.4	18,822	5,176	27.5
Alcorn	82.6	71.9	15,455	4,213	27.2
Amite	90.1	85.3	7,089	2,383	33.6
Attala	94.0	85.4	10,695	3,067	29
Benton	96.0	86.9	3,756	1,410	38
Bolivar	94.7	87.2	21,354	9,349	43.8
Calhoun	89.0	85.1	8,158	2,226	27.2
Carroll	99.9	82.8	4,806	1,668	34.7
Chickasaw	94.7	81.0	8,819	2,462	28
Choctaw	87.8	83.1	4,612	1,080	23.4
Claiborne	99.9	94.8	4,633	1,662	36.
Clarke	93.1	80.7	8,213	2,436	30
Clay	96.6	83.6	9,319	2,512	26.9
Coahoma	98.4	88.2	18,835	8,249	44
Copiah	93.2	84.1	12,690	3,619	28.5
Covington	93.7	87.9	7,283	2,061	28.2
DeSoto	93.9	84.6	16,708	4,520	27.0
Forrest	93.4	86.3	28,547	5,419	18.9
Franklin	98.0	91.6	4,468	1,271	28.4
George	87.1	77.5	3,481	1,539	44.2
Greene	89.3	83.4	4,482	1,566	35
Grenada	95.1	79.3	10,305	2,933	28.4
Hancock	98.3	72.4	9,105	2,182	24
Harrison	96.7	81.8	62,734	10,921	17.4
Hinds	94.5	88.4	1,071,114	17,340	16.1
Holmes	84.5	77.0	11,046	4,640	42.0
Humphreys	89.8	84.2	6,674	3,069	46
Issaquena	98.3	95.1	1,268	586	46.2
Itawamba	86.7	73.9	9,496	2,694	28.3
Jackson	95.0	83.3	41,505	6,060	14.6
Jasper	99.9	80.2	8,259	2,055	24.8
Jefferson	99.9	96.8	4,349	1,930	44.3
Jefferson Davis	99.6	83.3	6,412	1,525	24
Jones	91.2	86.0	30,653	7,534	24.5
Kemper	90.4	90.8	5,236	2,037	38.9
Lafayette	90.4	95.4	10,367	2,211	21.3
Lamar	91.8	76.7	7,851	1,872	23.8
Lauderdale	91.9	80.1	36,286	7,886	21.7
Lawrence	99.9	78.6	5,864	1,361	23.2
Leake	96.2	80.1	9,459	2,450	25.9
Lee	89.6	84.8	24,960	3,127	12.5
Leflore	92.1	74.9	20,231	7,519	37.1
Lincoln	92.2	90.6	14,028	3,346	23.8
Lowndes	92.5	88.0	23,407	5,867	25.0
Madison	93.6	86.5	13,632	4,730	34.6
Marion	91.9	81.7	11,801	3,142	26.6
Marshall	85.5	87.7	10,648	3,175	29.8

Monroe	94.2	70.9	18,049	5,061	28.0
Montgomery	91.2	86.6	6,905	1,945	28.1
Neshoba	94.6	85.8	5,844	2,799	47.8
Newton	85.3	88.7	10,342	2,348	22.7
Noxubee	38.1	31.2	6,729	2,711	40.2
Oktibbeha	95.8	85.2	11,728	2,752	23.4
Panola	98.9	80.8	13,240	4,664	35.2
Pearl River	86.7	76.5	75,019	2,805	03.7
Perry	99.1	88.9	4,604	1,283	27.8
Pike	92.8	88.7	16,949	4,570	26.9
Pontotoc	93.4	84.8	9,896	2,577	26.0
Prentiss	88.7	78.5	11,212	2,996	26.7
Quitman	95.0	76.7	7,219	3,591	49.7
Rankin	87.4	75.1	23,758	5,893	24.8
Scott	91.6	80.4	11,148	3,315	29.7
Sharkey	94.4	89.6	4,014	1,725	42.9
Simpson	77.6	69.4	10,663	3,066	28.7
Smith	93.1	78.1	7,346	1,840	25.0
Stone	89.3	82.7	4,069	763	18.7
Sunflower	89.6	82.1	17,036	7,372	43.2
Tallahatchie	92.6	81.0	9,042	4,255	47.0
Tate	91.5	81.2	8,421	2,885	34.2
Tippah	85.3	73.4	8,854	2,915	32.9
Tishomingo	90.0	92.6	8,803	3,224	36.6
Tunica	80.8	81.4	5,227	2,929	56.0
Union	94.7	75.9	10,792	3,416	31.6
Walthall	92.7	79.5	6,619	2,015	30.4
Warren	94.5	82.1	23,444	5,842	24.9
Washington	90.1	82.2	33,191	11,986	36.1
Wayne	92.9	87.2	8,275	2,276	27.5
Webster	86.8	98.4	5,639	2,486	44.0
Wilkinson	93.8	77.1	5,451	2,813	51.6
Winston	94.7	91.1	9,960	1,942	19.4
Yalobusha	99.9	88.8	6,431	1,897	29.4
Yazoo	93.4	89.2	13,794	5,052	36.6

Source: *U.S. Census of Population, 1970*.

TABLE 15

FAMILIES WITH REPORTED INCOME LESS THAN $3,000, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	INCOMES UNDER $3,000 NUMBER	PERCENT	FAMILIES WITH INCOME UNDER 1,000	1,000- 1,999	2,000 2,999
Adams	9,106	2,056	22.5	693	781	582
Alcorn	7,500	1,612	21.5	370	723	519
Amite	3,273	1,276	39.3	440	498	338
Attala	4,989	1,690	33.9	488	637	565
Benton	1,776	611	34.4	290	210	111
Bolivar	10,280	3.919	38.1	1,216	1,491	1,212
Calhoun	3,835	770	31.8	450	461	309
Carroll	2,235	832	37.2	284	276	172
Chickasaw	4,171	1,128	27.0	367	495	266
Choctaw	2,182	697	31.9	230	298	169
Claiborne	2,104	746	35.5	255	275	216
Clarke	3,799	1,104	29.1	349	413	342
Clay	4,430	1,063	24.0	355	412	296
Coahoma	8,846	3,374	38.1	912	1,327	1,135
Copiah	5,786	1,840	31.8	451	785	604
Covington	3,447	870	25.2	271	399	200
DeSoto	8,431	1,564	18.6	499	579	486
Forrest	14,151	2,782	19.7	664	996	1,122
Franklin	2,000	678	33.9	179	271	228
George	3.149	683	21.7	128	221	334
Greene	2,163	680	31.4	144	336	200
Grenada	4,940	1,243	25.2	361	455	427
Hancock	4,324	835	19.3	156	299	380
Harrison	31,600	4,902	15.5	1.236	1,621	2,045
Hinds	51,873	8,218	15.8	2,959	3.056	2,203
Holmes	5,042	2,478	49.1	772	932	774
Humphreys	3,166	1,464	46.2	462	488	514
Issaquena	576	210	36.5	93	63	54
Itawamba	4,738	1,118	23.6	238	523	357
Jackson	21.852	2,025	9.3	517	717	791
Jasper	3,993	1,364	34.2	429	498	437
Jefferson	2,042	1,014	49.7	285	471	258
Jefferson Davis	3,020	1,097	36.5	442	367	288
Jones	14,309	2,961	20.7	676	1,201	1,084
Kemper	2,321	1,047	45.1	354	435	258
Lafayette	5,416	1,327	24.5	402	519	406
Lamar	3,934	855	21.7	176	338	341
Lauderdale	16,923	3,352	19.8	835	1,268	1,249
Lawrence	2,840	934	32.9	312	340	282
Leake	4,489	1,664	37.1	388	693	583
Lee	12,515	2,075	16.6	471	884	720
Leflore	9,554	2,877	30.1	640	1,137	1,100
Lincoln	6,694	1,537	24.5	468	706	463
Lowndes	11,802	2,293	19.4	645	897	751
Madison	6,471	1,990	30.8	587	749	654
Marion	5,650	1,742	30.8	457	659	626
Marshall	5,109	1,714	33.5	516	715	483
Monroe	8,765	1,986	22.7	432	854	700

Montgomery	3,237		34.7	351	514	258
Neshoba	5,516	1,511	27.4	523	610	378
Newton	4,970	1,376	27.7	459	555	362
Noxubee	3,092	1,227	39.7	342	535	350
Oktibbeha	6,150	1,595	25.9	535	695	365
Panola	6,245	2,135	34.2	697	817	620
Pearl River	6,981	1,514	21.7	527	604	383
Perry	2,240	571	25.5	177	241	153
Pike	7,776	1,951	25.1	722	809	420
Pontotoc	4,701	1,492	31.7	564	702	226
Prentiss	5,475	1,271	23.2	454	527	290
Quitman	3,416	1,513	44.3	430	596	487
Rankin	9,993	1,391	13.9	540	524	327
Scott	5,345	1,446	27.1	548	573	325
Sharkey	1,831	750	41.0	343	252	155
Simpson	5,000	1,272	25.4	449	521	302
Smith	3,605	1,131	31.4	347	429	355
Stone	1,960	390	19.9	185	102	103
Sunflower	7,706	3,035	39.4	977	1,221	837
Tallahatchie	4,259	1,967	46.2	664	837	466
Tate	4,192	1,192	28.4	410	519	263
Tappah	4,309	1,219	28.3	422	595	202
Tishomingo	4,208	1,082	25.7	361	446	275
Tunica	2,310	1,206	52.0	443	521	242
Union	5,307	1,350	25.4	509	555	286
Walthall	3,078	964	31.3	365	357	242
Warren	10,809	2,011	18.7	686	804	521
Washington	15,815	4,287	27.1	1,279	1,784	1,224
Wayne	4,025	1,233	30.6	422	559	252
Webster	2,623	833	31.8	253	345	235
Wilkinson	2,461	956	39.2	384	348	233
Winston	4,703	1,319	28.1	399	613	307
Yalobusha	3,087	1,035	33.5	343	438	254
Yazoo	6,408	2,367	36.9	642	1,011	714

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 16

SPECIFIED LABOR FORCE DATA, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	MALES		FEMALES	
	IN LABOR FORCE	% UNEMPLOYED	IN LABOR FORCE	% UNEMPLOYED
Adams	7,922	4.2	4,909	7.8
Alcorn	6,446	6.5	4,106	7.9
Amite	2,775	5.5	1,499	10.2
Attala	4,070	4.6	2,505	7.8
Benton	1,457	7.4	955	5.0
Bolivar	8,890	8.3	6,509	10.8
Calhoun	3,273	4.9	1,866	6.3
Carroll	1,933	3.6	1,065	10.0
Chickasaw	3,619	4.4	2,452	7.7
Choctaw	1,671	5.9	1,028	8.4
Claiborne	1,761	6.0	1,245	9.8
Clarke	3,171	3.8	2,080	8.1
Clay	4,029	4.6	2,762	8.3
Coahoma	7,105	6.0	4,836	10.2
Copiah	4,792	3.9	3,147	8.6
Covington	2,853	3.5	1,738	4.2
DeSota	7,984	3.3	4,012	6.1
Forrest	12,594	3.0	8,993	3.7
Franklin	1,661	6.2	891	7.1
George	2,821	3.7	1,160	4.1
Greene	1,708	4.0	893	9.7
Grenada	4,305	4.4	3,217	6.5
Hancock	3,899	5.4	1,970	5.9
Harrison	39,173	3.1	15,836	5.9
Hinds	48,607	2.8	36,290	4.3
Holmes	3,808	5.6	2,621	9.4
Humphreys	2,617	5.0	1,529	4.0
Issaquena	561	2.9	228	10.5
Itawamba	4,021	4.7	2,721	4.8
Jackson	22,207	3.4	10,029	7.0
Jasper	3,104	3.8	1,728	4.9
Jefferson	1,508	10.5	600	14.0
Jefferson Davis	2,479	4.6	1,340	6.9
Jones	12,402	2.6	7,230	4.5
Kemper	1,956	5.0	960	15.2
Lafayette	4,822	3.0	3,409	3.1
Lamar	3,319	5.2	1,683	7.6
Lauderdale	16,171	3.1	9,985	6.1
Lawrence	2,107	7.4	1,226	6.9
Leake	3,575	3.7	2,053	4.6
Lee	11,281	2.2	7,922	2.7
Leflore	8,323	4.3	6,055	8.8
Lincoln	5,827	2.9	3,481	5.6
Lowndes	11,756	3.6	8,037	5.5
Madison	5,676	2.6	3,617	5.1
Marion	4,458	5.2	2,856	5.0
Marshall	4,465	4.5	2,449	10.5
Monroe	7,571	3.8	5,732	4.5

Montgomery	2,751	3.8	1,765	7.6
Neshoba	4,515	4.9	2,996	4.9
Newton	4,126	2.9	2,701	3.3
Noxubee	2,829	8.7	1,536	11.4
Oktibbeha	6,256	5.2	3,835	6.2
Panola	5,433	6.1	3,500	9.0
Pearl River	6,416	4.9	3,193	8.1
Perry	1,855	3.1	1,113	5.4
Pike	6,483	2.6	4,289	6.0
Pontotoc	3,714	4.3	2,599	4.7
Prentiss	4,561	5.0	3,597	5.3
Quitman	2,676	7.8	1,756	10.3
Rankin	9,411	2.6	6,172	4.1
Scott	4,512	2.0	2,725	4.2
Sharkey	1,693	7.9	1,076	19.0
Simpson	4,134	2.5	2,631	1.6
Smith	2,940	2.3	1,791	3.9
Stone	1,870	1.8	1,019	1.4
Sunflower	6,102	6.2	4,593	10.2
Tallahatchie	3,179	5.5	2,071	7.0
Tate	3,786	3.7	2,232	7.8
Tippah	3,501	2.1	2,448	5.0
Tishomingo	3,314	8.2	2,258	11.5
Tunica	1,818	11.9	1,187	7.8
Union	4,486	2.9	2,765	6.1
Walthall	2.515	3.7	1,533	4.2
Warren	9,875	3.2	6,625	6.0
Washington	14,043	6.3	9,770	9.4
Wayne	3,376	3.8	1,850	6.1
Webster	2,167	3.2	1,215	6.8
Wilkinson	2,154	10.4	1,262	15.9
Winston	3,645	5.0	2,205	6.6
Yalobusha	2,372	2.4	1,805	5.2
Yazoo	5,457	2.6	3,208	6.9

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 17
LIVE BIRTHS, BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE, RACE, AND ATTENDANT, ALSO BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND SEX, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

County	Total	White				Nonwhite				Sex	
		Total	Hosp. or Clinic	Phys., Other Place	Other	Total	Hosp. or Clinic	Phys., Other Place	Other	Male	Female
STATE	43,336	22,559	22,482	9	68	20,777	19,945	38	794	22,152	21,184
Adams	684	276	276	0	0	408	406	0	2	347	337
Alcorn	411	337	335	0	2	74	74	0	0	215	196
Amite	205	87	87	0	0	118	103	2	13	105	100
Attala	288	133	133	0	0	155	91	0	64	163	125
Benton	116	60	59	0	1	56	56	0	0	61	55
Bolivar	1,091	296	296	0	0	795	789	3	3	580	511
Calhoun	237	140	140	0	0	97	95	0	2	125	112
Carroll	151	79	79	0	0	72	54	0	18	68	83
Chickasaw	312	162	162	0	0	150	148	1	1	158	154
Choctaw	152	89	89	0	0	63	63	0	0	82	70
Claiborne	219	34	34	0	0	185	182	1	2	106	113
Clarke	276	135	135	0	0	141	141	0	0	136	140
Clay	390	132	132	0	0	258	255	1	2	187	203
Coahoma	824	189	189	0	0	635	619	0	16	399	425
Copiah	423	153	152	0	1	270	268	1	1	214	209
Covington	294	136	135	0	1	158	150	0	8	154	140
DeSoto	809	614	612	1	1	195	193	0	2	393	416
Forrest	1,057	664	663	1	0	393	390	0	3	559	498
Franklin	118	58	58	0	0	60	60	0	0	64	54
George	291	252	251	0	1	39	37	0	2	158	133
Greene	167	115	114	0	1	52	51	1	0	85	82
Grenada	317	155	155	0	0	162	150	0	12	170	147
Hancock	295	248	246	0	2	47	45	0	2	154	141
Harrison	2,834	2,131	2,118	0	13	703	620	1	82	1,487	1,347

County	Total	White				Nonwhite				Sex	
		Total	Hosp. or Clinic	Phys., Other Place	Other	Total	Hosp. or Clinic	Phys., Other Place	Other	Male	Female
Hinds	4,204	1,832	1,829	1	2	2,372	2,366	1	5	2,083	2,121
Holmes	504	85	85	0	0	419	418	0	1	274	230
Humphreys	307	50	50	0	0	257	251	0	6	166	141
Issaquena	43	10	10	0	0	33	33	0	0	20	23
Itawamba	275	259	259	0	0	16	15	1	0	138	137
Jackson	2,115	1,569	1,563	1	5	546	511	3	32	1,079	1,036
Jasper	300	104	104	0	0	196	194	0	2	151	149
Jefferson	168	20	20	0	0	148	147	0	1	90	78
Jeff Davis	276	91	90	0	1	185	182	0	3	147	129
Jones	879	578	571	1	6	301	301	0	0	451	428
Kemper	182	48	48	0	0	134	129	0	5	85	97
Lafayette	387	221	221	0	0	166	153	0	13	183	204
Lamar	340	279	278	0	1	61	61	0	0	165	175
Lauderdale	1,301	742	741	0	1	559	559	0	0	655	646
Lawrence	241	119	118	0	1	122	116	1	5	115	126
Leake	300	133	133	0	0	167	154	0	13	156	144
Lee	937	663	662	0	1	274	270	1	3	502	435
Leflore	897	278	278	0	0	619	533	0	86	458	439
Lincoln	514	295	295	0	0	219	219	0	0	271	243
Lowndes	1,013	590	589	0	1	423	324	0	99	536	477
Madison	758	230	229	0	1	528	504	1	23	388	370
Marion	398	226	225	0	1	172	166	0	6	222	176
Marshall	545	202	202	0	0	343	334	0	9	296	249
Monroe	571	327	324	0	3	244	242	1	1	281	290
Montgomery	219	85	85	0	0	134	127	0	7	119	100
Neshoba	400	235	235	0	0	165	163	2	0	189	211
Newton	343	190	189	1	0	153	153	0	0	162	181
Noxubee	286	65	65	0	0	221	207	0	14	132	154
Oktibbeha	481	266	266	0	0	215	211	0	4	251	230
Panola	569	201	200	0	1	368	345	6	17	284	285

County	Total	White				Nonwhite				Sex	
		Total	Hosp. or Clinic	Phys., Other Place	Other	Total	Hosp. or Clinic	Phys., Other Place	Other	Male	Female
Pearl River	522	409	406	0	3	113	113	0	0	246	276
Perry	188	124	123	0	1	64	64	0	0	95	93
Pike	578	237	234	0	3	341	317	2	22	279	299
Pontotoc	259	209	209	0	0	50	50	0	0	133	126
Prentiss	307	253	253	0	0	54	52	0	2	145	162
Quitman	325	89	89	0	0	236	231	0	5	163	162
Rankin	998	770	768	1	1	228	227	1	0	525	473
Scott	403	219	219	0	0	184	178	1	5	220	183
Sharkey	218	63	63	0	0	155	155	0	0	101	117
Simpson	418	210	210	0	0	208	206	0	2	226	192
Smith	245	152	151	0	1	93	93	0	0	128	117
Stone	141	94	94	0	0	47	38	0	9	70	71
Sunflower	763	174	174	0	0	589	568	1	20	381	382
Tallahatchie	383	98	98	0	0	285	248	0	37	188	195
Tate	360	165	165	0	0	195	189	0	6	193	167
Tippah	295	224	223	0	1	71	71	0	0	149	146
Tishomingo	215	208	208	0	0	7	7	0	0	118	97
Tunica	244	36	36	0	0	208	184	1	23	141	103
Union	336	259	259	0	0	77	75	0	2	180	156
Walthall	239	109	103	0	6	130	109	0	21	112	127
Warren	948	494	492	1	1	454	454	0	0	468	480
Washington	1,569	548	548	0	0	1,021	1,015	0	6	819	750
Wayne	309	154	153	0	1	155	154	1	0	155	154
Webster	154	103	103	0	0	51	48	0	3	86	68
Wilkinson	167	54	53	1	0	113	107	1	5	89	78
Winston	323	151	151	0	0	172	169	0	3	164	159
Yalobusha	198	95	95	0	0	103	99	0	4	102	96
Yazoo	517	190	188	0	2	327	296	2	29	257	260

Source: Statistical Services Unit, Mississippi State Board of Health.

TABLE 18

DEATHS, BY PLACE OF OCCURRENCE AND RACE,
ALSO DEATHS, BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND RACE,
(PLACE INCLUDES COUNTIES, OUT OF STATE, TOWNS OF 10,000 OR MORE, URBAN, RURAL)
MISSISSIPPI, 1975

	Occurrence Data			Residence Data		
County	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
STATE	22,391	13,525	8,866	22,768	13,790	8,978
Adams	484	225	259	401	170	231
Alcorn	241	209	32	287	245	42
Amite	43	17	26	154	86	68
Attala	188	111	77	228	133	95
Benton	16	8	8	76	50	26
Bolivar	468	124	344	509	143	366
Calhoun	138	109	29	208	175	33
Carroll	28	10	18	109	58	51
Chickasaw	188	119	69	203	122	81
Choctaw	80	49	31	112	86	26
Claiborne	97	27	70	129	36	93
Clarke	85	57	28	164	108	56
Clay	151	81	70	181	97	84
Coahoma	477	179	298	433	131	302
Copiah	209	92	117	296	139	157
Covington	107	72	35	146	105	41
DeSoto	113	58	55	279	184	95
Forrest	836	603	233	619	413	206
Franklin	103	64	39	111	68	43
George	113	101	12	125	112	13
Greene	62	45	17	93	74	19
Grenada	317	179	138	240	129	111
Hancock	159	134	25	188	158	30
Harrison	1,322	1,064	258	1,043	845	198
Hinds	3,076	1,758	1,318	1,924	1,098	826
Holmes	206	49	157	268	83	185
Humphreys	158	38	120	161	51	110
Issaquena	19	7	12	35	11	24
Itawamba	143	130	13	187	174	13
Jackson	502	406	96	588	478	110
Jasper	122	69	53	167	87	80
Jefferson	52	4	48	94	22	72
Jeff Davis	96	47	49	119	55	64
Jones	660	460	200	580	430	150
Kemper	61	28	33	107	54	53
Lafayette	236	171	65	202	132	70
Lamar	52	46	6	155	137	18
Lauderdale	994	657	337	802	510	292
Lawrence	116	73	43	134	94	40
Leake	147	99	48	204	135	69
Lee	666	537	129	481	373	108
Leflore	490	230	260	420	176	244

	Occurrence Data			Residence Data		
County	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
Lincoln	257	186	71	302	218	84
Lowndes	400	245	155	414	239	175
Madison	225	86	139	305	110	195
Marion	179	119	60	245	171	74
Marshall	184	88	96	282	137	145
Monroe	364	256	108	363	250	113
Montgomery	191	119	72	182	118	64
Neshoba	176	115	61	218	158	60
Newton	201	147	54	269	205	64
Noxubee	139	33	106	148	51	97
Oktibbeha	255	131	124	222	110	112
Panola	256	116	140	303	154	149
Pearl River	213	170	43	265	219	46
Perry	55	44	11	85	62	23
Pike	475	281	194	446	246	200
Pontotoc	163	142	21	219	187	32
Prentiss	121	106	15	190	173	17
Quitman	81	14	67	184	65	119
Rankin	322	196	126	343	257	86
Scott	210	142	68	254	159	95
Sharkey	60	24	36	85	38	47
Simpson	217	151	66	236	163	73
Smith	40	31	9	111	97	14
Stone	69	59	10	88	65	23
Sunflower	318	125	193	398	160	238
Tallahatchie	182	75	107	229	106	123
Tate	82	37	45	181	103	78
Tippah	163	139	24	183	156	27
Tishomingo	139	137	2	185	180	5
Tunica	91	25	66	114	34	80
Union	239	187	52	230	191	39
Walthall	132	96	36	131	82	49
Warren	616	308	308	506	255	251
Washington	809	311	498	787	297	490
Wayne	154	93	61	165	97	68
Webster	92	83	9	121	105	16
Wilkinson	162	64	98	140	48	92
Winston	179	111	68	198	113	85
Yalobusha	98	69	29	152	113	39
Yazoo	261	118	143	327	131	196
Out of state	1,262	919	343	885	654	231

Town*	Occurrence Data Total	Occurrence Data White	Occurrence Data Non-white	Residence Data Total	Residence Data White	Residence Data Non-white
Biloxi	704	590	114	309	258	51
Brookhaven	218	155	63	119	77	42
Canton	161	66	95	137	48	89
Clarksdale	426	161	265	262	79	183
Cleveland	240	104	136	129	55	74
Columbus	351	216	135	257	140	117
Corinth	29	22	7	142	117	25
Greenville	587	260	327	496	205	291
Greenwood	418	206	212	265	122	143
Gulfport	499	375	124	375	288	87
Hattiesburg	789	572	217	419	258	161
Jackson	2,490	1,403	1,087	1,483	862	621
Laurel	575	387	188	275	172	103
McComb	329	207	122	181	118	63
Meridian	907	593	314	577	350	227
Moss Point	13	5	8	124	68	56
Natchez	443	210	233	268	103	165
Oxford	201	148	53	77	58	19
Pascagoula	393	316	77	181	151	30
Pearl	15	14	1	67	63	4
Picayune	142	107	35	95	63	32
Starkville	206	115	91	93	62	31
Tupelo	540	425	115	208	150	58
Vicksburg	561	276	285	314	137	177
Yazoo City	212	101	111	167	48	119
Total urban**	16,096	9,905	6,191	9,855	5,709	4,146
Total rural	6,295	3,620	2,675	12,913	8,081	4,832

* Towns of 10,000 population or more, according to 1970 census except for Pearl which was not incorporated until 1973.

** All incorporated towns of 2,500 population or more, according to 1970 census except for Pearl which was not incorporated until 1973.

Source: Same as Table 17.

TABLE 19

INFANT AND NEONATAL DEATH RATES, BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND RACE, 5-YEAR AVERAGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1971 - 1975

COUNTY	INFANT DEATH RATE			NEONATAL DEATH RATE		
	TOTAL	WHITE	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White
State	24.9	17.2	33.3	17.5	13.4	21.8
Adams	24.4	19.3	28.1	19.8	16.1	22.5
Alcorn	23.1	22.1	28.3	15.5	15.3	17.0
Amite	31.6	16.4	41.5	21.4	11.7	27.7
Attala	17.0	8.7	24.7	10.9	5.0	16.5
Benton	34.2	30.2	40.0	21.6	21.1	22.2
Bolivar	26.9	19.7	29.0	18.8	15.6	19.8
Calhoun	25.8	16.0	39.6	16.4	12.0	22.6
Carroll	19.4	6.6	28.5	12.5	6.6	16.6
Choctaw	12.4	7.8	19.1	10.8	7.8	15.3
Claiborne	50.5	23.0	56.1	36.9	23.0	39.7
Clarke	22.0	12.0	32.3	15.9	10.5	21.5
Clay	29.6	18.3	36.1	23.0	16.9	26.5
Coahoma	28.4	13.1	33.0	19.8	12.1	22.1
Copiah	26.2	18.5	30.4	15.1	14.8	15.2
Covington	17.0	5.8	27.4	7.1	1.4	12.3
DeSoto	16.9	13.4	25.3	12.1	11.0	14.7
Forrest	21.6	14.8	34.0	15.4	12.0	21.6
Franklin	17.2	10.8	22.2	11.0	7.2	13.9
George	20.5	16.6	43.3	12.7	9.9	28.8
Greene	26.7	21.9	36.1	17.8	15.1	23.0
Grenada	29.2	11.7	43.5	19.1	10.6	26.1
Hancock	23.2	25.1	13.3	16.9	18.4	8.9
Harrison	19.9	16.9	29.5	14.0	12.1	20.2
Hinds	18.9	14.4	22.7	14.1	12.0	15.9
Holmes	26.3	10.3	29.3	16.6	5.2	18.7
Humphrey's	33.6	13.7	39.6	24.7	10.9	28.8
Issaquena	59.4	46.9	65.2	29.7	46.9	21.7
Itawamba	21.8	20.3	39.6	16.5	15.4	29.7
Jackson	20.7	15.3	37.6	15.1	11.5	26.6
Jasper	35.0	22.9	41.5	28.3	22.9	31.2
Jefferson	27.6	10.6	29.7	18.4	10.6	19.4
Jeff Davis	32.1	17.5	39.7	15.7	13.1	17.0
Jones	25.0	19.3	36.1	19.1	14.2	28.7
Kemper	35.1	17.3	40.6	13.4	8.6	14.9
Lafayette	27.0	15.6	43.6	20.4	13.3	31.0
Lamar	18.4	15.9	29.4	16.0	14.5	22.9
Lauderdale	25.0	19.6	32.0	18.6	16.0	22.1
Chickasaw	29.6	18.7	42.0	23.2	14.3	33.3

Lawrence	14.6	14.4	14.9	12.0	12.8	11.2
Leake	29.8	18.8	38.6	18.1	15.9	19.9
Lee	28.3	26.5	32.7	21.0	21.2	20.4
Leflore	39.4	28.6	44.0	30.6	24.9	33.1
Lincoln	23.0	14.8	34.4	17.4	13.5	22.9
Lowndes	19.1	10.5	30.4	13.1	7.4	20.5
Madison	22.7	9.3	27.9	13.6	6.5	16.3
Marion	28.1	17.8	42.9	18.1	10.0	29.7
Marshall	25.6	15.4	31.0	14.8	11.3	16.6
Monroe	35.7	25.2	50.4	27.0	19.5	37.5
Montgomery	34.7	25.4	41.0	26.3	23.3	28.2
Neshoba	19.3	16.7	23.2	14.2	13.5	15.1
Newton	29.5	26.7	32.7	19.6	19.2	20.1
Noxubee	51.0	24.1	58.8	29.2	18.1	32.5
Oktibbeha	24.2	11.0	38.0	14.0	8.1	20.2
Panola	35.0	21.9	42.0	24.9	18.9	28.2
Pearl River	22.4	19.0	33.6	17.5	14.6	27.2
Perry	13.3	9.4	20.6	9.2	6.3	14.7
Pike	26.2	13.8	36.2	17.2	8.7	23.9
Pontotoc	28.5	23.0	52.8	22.3	19.6	34.0
Prentiss	27.5	26.0	35.2	20.0	18.5	28.2
Quitman	34.2	18.6	40.5	23.0	14.9	26.2
Rankin	16.5	14.5	22.4	12.5	11.3	16.1
Scott	26.8	15.1	39.7	17.6	10.9	25.0
Sharkey	32.6	20.5	36.0	19.9	20.5	19.7
Simpson	23.3	12.9	35.4	15.8	12.9	19.3
Smith	20.8	10.7	37.6	14.8	9.5	23.8
Stone	18.4	13.7	26.5	11.0	11.7	9.9
Sunflower	30.6	13.8	35.6	17.0	10.7	18.9
Tallahatchie	32.7	18.2	37.8	18.7	18.2	18.9
Tate	21.1	11.9	28.4	14.8	10.7	18.0
Tippah	20.7	15.1	39.8	15.5	10.9	31.2
Tishomingo	14.6	13.4	40.0	9.2	8.6	20.0
Tunica	26.6	27.8	26.3	16.2	19.8	15.4
Union	28.4	21.1	52.8	20.9	16.6	35.2
Walthall	27.8	20.6	33.4	20.7	18.6	22.3
Warren	32.7	21.1	44.1	25.7	16.8	34.4
Washington	26.0	18.6	29.6	17.4	14.6	18.7
Wayne	27.9	18.8	39.4	21.7	15.5	29.5
Webster	25.1	22.5	30.5	20.1	20.6	19.1
Wilkinson	26.8	16.7	30.5	20.1	12.6	22.9
Winston	25.4	18.1	30.9	17.7	16.8	18.4
Yalobusha	26.6	18.8	33.1	18.0	11.3	23.6
Yazoo	29.1	18.6	35.0	17.9	13.1	20.5

*Infant deaths are those of children under one year of age; neonatal deaths are those of infants under 28 days of age.

**Deaths per 1,000 live births.
Source: Statistical Services, Mississippi State Board of Health

Chart 1

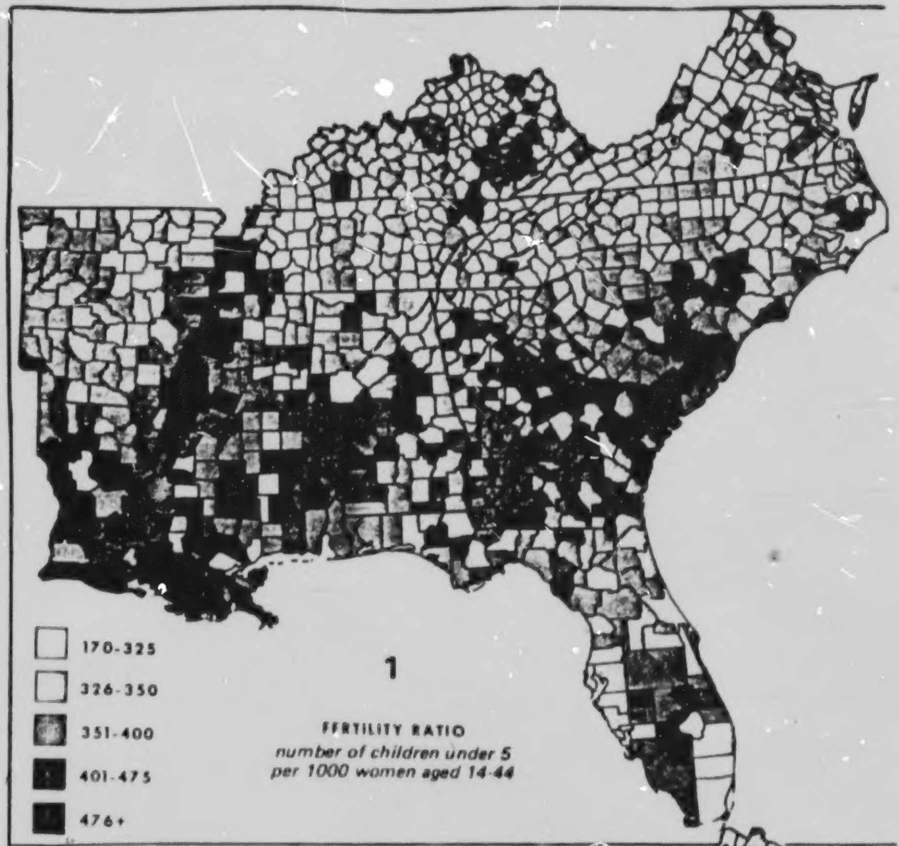
FERTILITY RATIO AND INFANT MORTALITY RATE, BY COUNTY, SOUTHERN STATES

Women in the South are not really **that much different demographically from** women elsewhere in the country. They live about as long, are about as likely to be in the labor force, have about the same number of children, are about as likely to divorce, and outnumber the male population by about the same ratio: 105 to 100. There is nothing unusual in any of this. However, these statistics mask the often great differences that exist *within* the South for women in such things as divorce rates, fertility, and labor force participation.

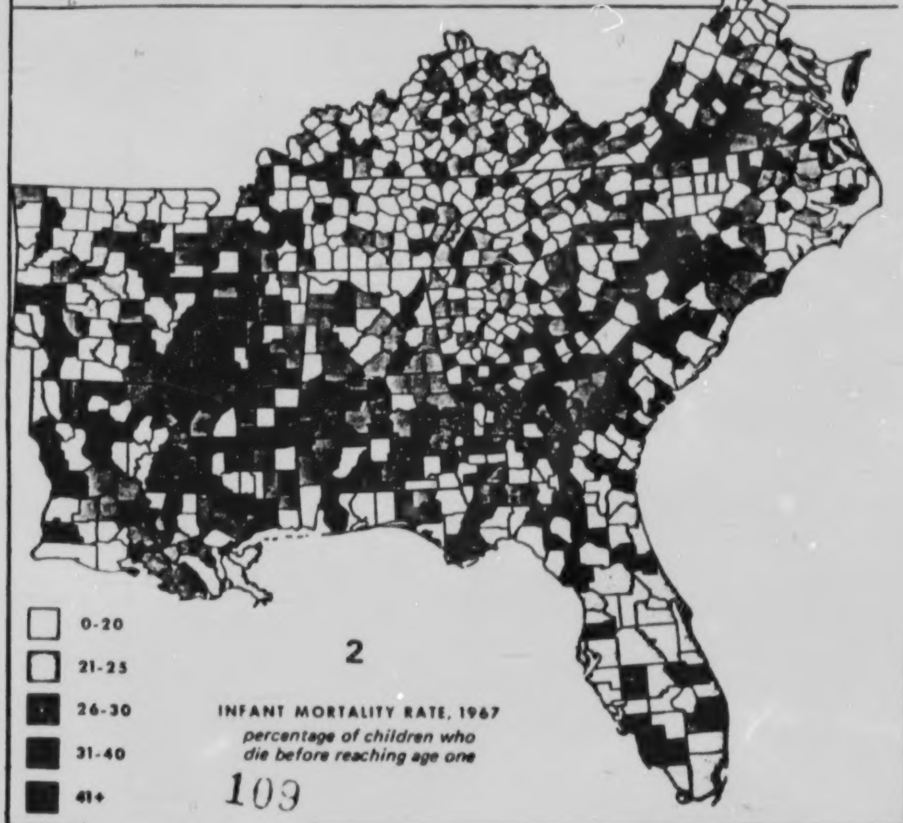
The South is not today, and really never was, homogeneous. Rather, it is composed of many, often strikingly, varied parts.

For example, while the fertility rate (the number of children under the age of five per 1000 women of childbearing age) in the region is almost the same as that for the entire country (362 to 370), parts of the South vary greatly from the regional norm [see map 1]. The Cajun country of southern Louisiana, the only predominantly Catholic area in the South, has a very high fertility rate which reflects its limited acceptance of birth-control procedures.

Counties in the Mississippi Delta also have among the highest fertility rates in the United States. This rich cotton producing area, once a key part of the plantation South, is both rural and predominantly black. It is also poor. Because young children are particularly susceptible to problems in their environment, one statistical indicator for the area's poverty is a high infant mortality rate (the percentage of children who die before reaching age one) [see map 2].



FERTILITY RATIO
number of children under 5 per 1000 women aged 14-44



INFANT MORTALITY RATE, 1967
percentage of children who die before reaching age one

Source: John W. Florin, "Varieties of Southern Women," Southern Exposure, 4 (Winter, 1977), p. 95. Poverty, rural residence, large black populations, and high fertility are intertwined in large sections of the South.

TABLE 20

NUMBER OF MEDICAID RECIPIENTS AND AMOUNT OF EXPENDITURES ON THEIR BEHALF, BY COUNTY, MISSSISSIPPI, 1970

County	Recipients	Expenditures	County	Recipients	Expenditures
Adams	6,249	$2,383,325.34	Leflore	8,786	$3,068,638.67
Alcorn	2,823	1,571,355.36	Lincoln	3,488	1,541,883.85
Amite	1,504	377,078.79	Lowndes	5,413	1,325,404.21
Attala	2,504	772,920.75	Madison	7,093	1,767,682.20
Benton	1,267	346,216.67	Marion	3,033	1,638,195.87
Bolivar	11,224	3,218,492.52	Marshall	5,462	1,480,979.19
Calhoun	1,999	841,708.97	Monroe	4,057	1,454,978.61
Carroll	1,734	547,218.06	Montgomery	3,233	1,224,857.39
Chickasaw	2,567	1,146,795.63	Neshoba	2,609	1,282,674.53
Choctaw	1,727	655,900.06	Newton	2,272	1,034,781.48
Claiborne	2,072	400,711.91	Noxubee	2,047	672,329.12
Clarke	2,528	740,751.86	Oktibbeha	4,278	1,230,989.71
Clay	2,886	605,316.11	Panola	4,713	1,163,639.69
Coahoma	8,366	2,087,989.35	Pearl River	3,517	1,846,699.90
Copiah	4,334	1,432,841.06	[illegible]rry	1,576	643,452.07
Covington	2,408	1,100,397.10	[illegible]ke	5,595	2,244,486.51
DeSoto	3,450	719,843.34	Pontotoc	2,189	1,041,353.66
Forrest	4,696	2,881,537.20	Prentiss	2,377	1,269,292.96
Franklin	1,158	626,482.12	Quitman	2,382	528,312.65
George	1,226	631,575.75	Rankin	2,086	1,246,616.21
Greene	1,305	536,648.04	Scott	2,811	1,041,557.12
Grenada	3,426	1,672,328.39	Sharkey	2,283	482,730.18
Hancock	1,508	648,447.58	Simpson	2,650	1,808,439.03
Harrison	7,882	3,064,870.17	Smith	1,650	677,978.18
Hinds	28,531	9,430,204.00	Stone	972	580,199.42
Holmes	7,964	2,023,374.88	Sunflower	7,194	2,247,925.49
Humphreys	4,139	1,086,056.60	Tallahatchie	4,367	1,036,071.07
Issaquena	553	181,141.79	Tate	3,347	799,372.40
Itawamba	1,523	861,687.41	Tippah	2,386	1,226,957.35
Jackson	3,377	1,187,631.08	Tishomingo	1,502	638,305.00
Jasper	2,627	866,091.57	Tunica	2,600	463,382.08
Jefferson	2,620	704,060.14	Union	2,176	1,009,699.83
Jeff Davis	2,707	993,512.77	Walthall	2,629	1,219,580.88
Jones	5,667	3,326,950.78	Warren	5,488	2,033,169.50
Kemper	1,104	286,282.16	Washington	11,514	3,794,231.89
Lafayette	2,040	1,031,895.46	Wayne	3,114	1,094,005.31
Lamar	2,049	783,441.66	Webster	1,444	697,841.26
Lauderdale	7,370	3,425,622.19	Wilkinson	2,206	612,843.43
Lawrence	1,913	881,582.05	Winston	3,295	1,382,954.63
Leake	3,025	1,178,486.77	Yalobusha	1,815	738,416.36
Lee	4,104	1,653,400.08	Yazoo	5,696	1,980,812.98

SOURCE: Seventh Annual Report, Mississippi Medicaid Commission, p. 22.

TABLE 21

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEDICAID PROVIDERS*, NUMBER RECIPIENTS SERVED WITHIN COUNTY AND TOTAL PAYMENTS TO PROVIDERS BY COUNTY FOR FISCAL YEAR 1976

County	County Providers	Recipients Served	Total Payments
ADAMS	95	24,884	$2,589,533.87
ALCORN	52	7,342	1,344,672.72
AMITE	11	2,352	113,845.95
ATTALA	25	5,373	628,756.14
BENTON	2	31	690.07
BOLIVAR	80	44,716	3,539,829.29
CALHOUN	20	6,257	509,813.22
CARROLL	7	3,017	134,928.42
CHICKASAW	34	10,229	1,005,390.34
CHOCTAW	14	4,781	483,128.30
CLAIBORNE	10	5,567	276,393.85
CLARKE	13	7,017	486,359.64
CLAY	23	7,209	610,043.42
COAHOMA	60	23,921	1,607,680.69
COPIAH	30	15,317	1,010,888.50
COVINGTON	22	8,170	964,032.20
DESOTO	21	9,066	347,879.15
FOREST	167	27,731	4,252,866.70
FRANKLIN	15	4,027	641,071.43
GEORGE	24	5,401	642,799.65
GREENE	12	3,473	391,251.63
GRENADA	43	15,766	2,438,399.98
HANCOCK	21	3,808	628,598.88
HARRISON	203	23,507	2,653,826.93
HINDS	675	205,255	15,911,342.08
HOLMES	30	29,646	1,635,908.95
HUMPHREYS	20	16,874	1,159,261.48
ISSAQUENA	0	0	.00
ITAWAMBA	22	3,966	971,676.95
JACKSON	123	11,091	1,207,907.99
JASPER	24	9,772	677,532.12
JEFFERSON	16	7,123	470,857.75
JEFFERSON DAVIS	17	8,838	616,838.86
JONES	121	22,964	3,454,917.01
KEMPER	8	1,871	132,932.83
LAFAYETTE	66	6,269	1,591,891.42
LAMAR	19	5,978	396,676.52
LAUDERDALE	171	27,727	3,718,622.89
LAWRENCE	12	5,489	1,021,225.08
LEAKE	27	9,716	847,664.40

LEE	121	20,848	1,802,637.57
LEFLORE	64	33,654	3,572,310.79
LINCOLN	45	12,098	1,207,476.17
LOWNDES	68	10,699	856,378.61
MADISON	41	21,286	1,227,191.05
MARION	29	8,013	1,394,582.93
MARSHALL	30	15,536	1,312,808.47
MONROE	54	14,889	1,807,900.39
MONTGOMERY	21	10,274	1,145,644.77
NESHOBA	28	6,952	796,025.92
NEWTON	30	7,104	880,134.23
NOXUBEE	16	9,919	727,946.94
OKTIBBEHA	39	11,980	1,458,192.69
PANOLA	35	16,318	1,044,941.91
PEARL RIVER	37	12,184	1,644,787.86
PERRY	17	6,025	382,472.30
PIKE	71	23,757	2,420,682.45
PONTOTOC	23	5,555	753,511.03
PRENTISS	30	7,636	1,416,251.36
QUITMAN	13	8,133	338,455.47
RANKIN	40	4,838	741,830.58
SCOTT	32	9,268	852,764.85
SHARKEY	9	6,863	339,781.18
SIMPSON	39	9,431	1,820,677.17
SMITH	21	4,428	326,331.41
STONE	16	3,148	623,199.97
SUNFLOWER	40	20,557	1,843,060.43
TALLAHATCHIE	18	11,732	706,880.59
TATE	20	9,489	355,364.69
TIPPAH	26	10,429	1,313,527.44
TISHOMINGO	28	6,075	650,837.12
TUNICA	11	5,441	296,007.94
UNION	31	6,173	642,882.13
WALTHALL	22	8,354	1,143,821.15
WARREN	124	21,991	2,121,699.80
WASHINGTON	117	39,134	4,078,508.68
WAYNE	23	10,398	857,586.94
WEBSTER	12	5,514	614,547.47
WILKINSON	21	6,560	498,294.98
WINSTON	27	8,725	1,255,572.24
YALOBUSHA	23	3,773	463,566.79
YAZOO	30	15,816	1,674,851.44

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*The total paid to providers of medical services is shown for each county. The recipients served by the providers during FY 1976 were not necessarily residents of that county, but the providers were.

Source: Same as Table 20, pp. 20-21.

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS, TOTAL WAGES FOR SECOND QUARTER OF 1976, AND AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

COUNTY	NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS	TOTAL QUARTERLY WAGES $ (millions)	AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE $
Adams	864	27.4	182
Alcorn	614	18.9	158
Amite	132	2.9	149
Attala	320	6.9	147
Benton	67	.8	110
Bolivar	643	15.4	152
Calhoun	241	4.6	126
Carroll	78	.7	94
Chickasaw	295	9.6	134
Choctaw	117	1.8	114
Claiborne	164	14.3	216
Clarke	188	6.[illegible]	158
Clay	280	12.4	167
Coahoma	632	11.1	147
Copiah	336	6.4	125
Covington	199	4.1	127
Desoto	659	14.2	158
Forrest	1,312	40.6	154
Franklin	96	1.9	122
George	191	2.1	114
Greene	79	.9	93
Grenada	416	13.4	159
Hancock	262	3.4	167
Harrison	2,504	54.3	140
Hinds	5,454	197.0	175
Holmes	308	3.1	111
Issaquena	185	2.5	174
Itawamba	199	6.0	125
Jackson	1,493	117.5	202
Jasper	182	4.1	160
Jefferson	81	1.2	132
Jefferson Davis	152	2.0	123
Jones	1,079	30.6	159
Kemper	75	1.0	119
Lafayette	430	12.6	150
Lamar	186	3.9	155
Lauderdale	1,471	40.7	153
Lawrence	145	4.8	193
Leake	242	3.4	114
Lee	1,264	49.2	153
Leflore	727	16.7	141
Lincoln	492	9.6	140

Lowndes	972	31.0	156
Madison	437	8.4	136
Marion	394	8.2	133
Marshall	288	5.7	134
Monroe	596	16.0	141
Montgomery	213	3.5	114
Neshoba	337	8.7	135
Newton	269	6.6	137
Noxubee	176	2.3	114
Oktibbeha	458	14.9	148
Panola	448	9.1	129
Pearl River	397	6.5	134
Perry	105	1.6	126
Pike	645	13.0	135
Pontotoc	240	6.8	141
Prentiss	290	7.1	114
Quitman	171	2.2	121
Rankin	704	23.3	158
Scott	351	8.1	117
Sharkey	112	1.5	136
Simpson	305	7.2	127
Smith	148	5.2	150
Stone	147	3.1	154
Sunflower	401	9.2	158
Tallahatchie	182	1.9	118
Tate	250	5.4	144
Tippah	284	5.8	120
Tishomingo	271	6.5	118
Tunica	134	1.6	117
Union	256	9.7	145
Walthall	172	2.6	118
Warren	808	25.0	166
Washington	1,373	35.3	157
Wayne	271	4.8	129
Webster	168	3.2	132
Wilkinson	153	1.8	109
Winston	339	7.3	134
Yalobusha	183	3.6	121
Yazoo	413	9.2	157

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1. Employment and wages covered by Mississippi "Employment Security" Law. These figures do not represent total employment. Agricultural workers, domestic servants, railroad employment, local government and many employees of State government are not covered.

Source: Mississippi Employment Security Commission, Mississippi Covered Employment and Wages (Jackson: MESC, 1977).

TABLE 23

STATE PERSONAL INCOME TAX INFORMATION, BY COUNTY
MISSISSIPPI, FISCAL YEAR, 1976

COUNTY	NUMBER TAXPAYERS	GROSS STATE INCOME TAX	NET TAXABLE INCOME
Adams	7,960	1,730,530	49,335,312
Alcorn	6,446	899,836	26,562,252
Amite	1,787	238,464	7,059,208
Attala	3,234	460,836	13,655,395
Benton	960	106,444	3,206,096
Bolivar	6,646	1,201,421	34,725,454
Calhoun	2,756	312,502	9,239,555
Carroll	1,200	126,165	3,767,539
Chickasaw	3,631	364,661	10,883,834
Choctaw	1,299	145,052	4,314,022
Claiborne	1,637	272,539	7,959,722
Clarke	2,878	431,030	12,718,022
Clay	4,033	614,990	18,165,436
Coanoma	5,609	1,172,588	33,172,335
Copiah	4,147	530,269	15,763,851
Covington	2,624	297,200	8,818,224
DeSoto	10,169	1,854,788	55,244,532
Forrest	12,734	2,484,405	71,241,178
Franklin	1,345	171,695	5,186,455
George	3,186	383,165	11,650,103
Greene	1,349	144,523	4,339,572
Grenada	4,172	605,167	17,906,260
Hancock	3,345	500,784	14,550,646
Harrison	29,988	4,562,837	133,672,058
Hinds	63,267	14,469,175	411,711,310
Holmes	2,333	388,419	11,107,914
Humphreys	1,561	372,796	10,324,816
Issaquena	278	74,664	2,059,413
Itawamba	3,530	367,369	11,100,740
Jackson	29,574	4,696,012	140,222,058
Jasper	2,802	417,634	12,069,172
Jefferson	1,283	123,410	3,714,719
Jefferson Davis	1,845	228,276	6,806,184
Jones	12,187	2,201,408	62,886,967
Kemper	1,326	151,038	4,469,513
Lafayette	4,518	800,346	23,169,110
Lamar	3,607	455,960	13,622,664
Lauderdale	15,272	3,051,104	87,418,502
Lawrence	2,116	313,002	9,223,973
Leake	3,016	280,024	8,486,686
Lee	13,799	2,282,136	66,384,368

Leflore	6,686	1,490,734	42,082,550
Lincoln	5,511	830,369	24,092,642
Lowndes	10,223	1,763,719	51,441,233
Madison	5,744	940,685	27,302,523
Marion	4,417	620,207	17,964,130
Marshall	3,690	497,747	14,676,485
Monroe	7,037	875,761	25,981,112
Montgomery	1,934	235,332	7,065,897
Neshoba	4,261	479,742	14,499,804
Newton	3,552	408,879	12,287,190
Noxubee	1,436	283,748	8,006,072
Oktibbeha	5,603	1,029,183	29,794,728
Panola	4,266	616,634	17,912,877
Pearl River	5,224	750,376	22,104,694
Perry	1,568	160,826	4,856,942
Pike	6,100	941,163	27,234,865
Pontotoc	3,864	345,294	10,523,733
Prentiss	4,437	409,083	12,376,850
Quitman	1,760	292,462	8,395,092
Rankin	12,857	2,196,898	65,536,823
Scott	3,708	465,375	13,677,126
Sharkey	1,026	279,614	7,760,399
Simpson	3,804	500,575	14,697,980
Smith	2,396	238,871	7,254,543
Stone	1,850	220,180	6,545,285
Sunflower	4,334	904,547	25,679,155
Tallahatchie	1,919	326,588	9,224,471
Tate	3,345	479,580	14,227,599
Tippah	3,315	346,281	10,330,039
Tishomingo	3,382	344,599	10,386,589
Tunica	982	378,847	10,234,067
Union	4,697	553,900	16,582,688
Walthall	1,789	221,240	6,491,702
Warren	11,685	2,314,234	67,183,833
Washington	12,858	2,728,576	77,641,960
Wayne	2,812	387,100	11,278,385
Webster	1,969	203,775	6,135,332
Wilkinson	1,179	184,256	5,359,918
Winston	3,241	470,006	13,714,755
Yalobusha	2,079	229,782	6,829,322
Yazoo	4,380	914,373	26,078,049
TOTAL FOR COUNTIES	462,369	78,145,804	2,269,264,613
Out-of-State	32,810	3,938,662	115,138,528
TOTAL FOR STATE	495,179	$82,084,466	$2,384,403,141

Source: Mississippi State Tax Commission

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN TOTAL FARMS AND FARMS WITH SALES OVER $2,500, AND IN TOTAL ACRES IN FARMS AND ACRES PER FARM, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1969-1974

COUNTY	NUMBER OF FARMS TOTAL	NUMBER OF FARMS SALES OVER $2,500	ACRES IN FARMS TOTAL	ACRES IN FARMS PER FARM
Adams	-26	+13	-26	±2
Alcorn	-27	+1	-24	+5
Amite	-19	-11	-15	+5
Attala	-23	-8	-16	+8
Benton	-29	-13	-25	+5
Bolivar	-28	-15	+4	+45
Calhoun	-25	-5	-17	+11
Carroll	-13	-6	-14	-1
Chickasaw	-13	+4	-3	-18
Choctaw	-24	+5	-28	-6
Claiborne	-23	-9	+9	+42
Clarke	-16	+10	-17	-2
Clay	-10	-12	-6	+4
Coahoma	-28	-24	-6	+30
Copiah	-24	-6	-7	+23
Covington	-20	+19	+4	+30
De Soto	-15	-12	-2	+15
Forrest	-6	+1	-15	-10
Franklin	-19	-13	-19	+1
Greene	+6	+33	-7	-12
George	-7	+37	-10	-4
Grenada	-27	-16	-14	+18
Hancock	-8	+13	+23	+34
Harrison	-13	-11	-32	-22
Hinds	-23	-16	-8	+19
Holmes	-29	-8	-14	+21
Humphreys	-26	-8	-6	+28
Issaquena	-15	-3	+9	+28
Itawamba	-24	-6	-15	+12
Jackson	-15	+10	-12	+3
Jasper	-20	-10	-23	-4
Jefferson	-23	+1	-7	+22
Jefferson Davis	-34	-15	-19	+22
Jones	-6	+11	-12	-7
Kemper	-19	-9	-17	+2
Lamar	-3	+38	+7	+10
Lafayette	-27	-9	-26	+1
Lauderdale	-22	-6	-14	+11
Lawrence	-21	+16	-11	+13
Leake	-19	-1	-14	+7

Lee	-19	-5	-13	+7
Leflore	-19	-13	NA	+23
Lincoln	-15	-7	-13	+2
Lowndes	-23	-1	-10	+17
Madison	-31	-8	-5	+37
Marion	-36	+8	-16	+32
Marshall	-19	+5	+4	+29
Monroe	-15	-1	-17	-3
Montgomery	-23	-12	-14	+12
Neshoba	-22	-5	-9	+16
Newton	-11	+4	-11	NA
Noxubee	-27	-8	-2	+34
Oktibbeha	-22	-16	-15	+10
Panola	-27	-13	-17	+14
Pearl River	+8	+23	-10	-16
Perry	-5	+31	-2	+3
Pike	-2	+8	-1	NA
Pontotoc	-28	-1	-14	+19
Prentiss	-29	-6	-17	+17
Quitman	-19	-8	+1	+25
Rankin	-15	-8	-11	+4
Scott	-17	-10	-12	+6
Sharkey	-31	-23	-6	+36
Simpson	-22	-2	-14	+10
Smith	-26	-10	-22	+6
Stone	+5	+26	-2	-6
Sunflower	-24	-19	NA	+32
Tallahatchie	-21	-17	-6	+19
Tate	-22	-14	-14	+11
Tippah	-27	-1	-14	+17
Tishomingo	-23	+18	-17	+8
Tunica	-25	-13	-8	+23
Union	-23	+6	-17	+8
Walthall	-27	-23	-24	+6
Warren	-13	-9	-28	-18
Washington	-16	NA	+6	+26
Wayne	-20	-3	-20	+1
Webster	-21	-13	-5	-20
Wilkinson	-27	-15	-22	+8
Winston	-25	-19	-25	NA
Yalobusha	-29	-21	-17	+16
Yazoo	-18	-6	-5	+17

Source: 1974 Census of Agriculture, Preliminary Reports

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS SOLD, AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN TOTAL PER FARM, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1969-1974

COUNTY	VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS SOLD	
	TOTAL	PER FARM
Adams	+148	+238
Alcorn	+39	+92
Amite	+35	+67
Attala	+49	+92
Benton	+28	+79
Bolivar	+100	+190
Calhoun	+92	+158
CArroll	+54	+78
Choctaw	+73	+127
Claiborne	+97	+156
Clarke	+17	+38
Clay	+30	+44
Coahoma	+59	+122
Copiah	+41	+66
Covington	+103	+154
De Soto	+68	+98
Forrest	+104	+117
Franklin	+110	+161
Greene	+89	+79
George	+108	+123
Grenada	+74	+138
Hancock	+104	+121
Harrison	+26	+45
Hinds	+94	+152
Holmes	+124	+215
Humphreys	+197	+304
Issaquena	+110	+147
Itawamba	+76	+131
Jackson	+190	+242
Jasper	+40	+76
Jefferson	+71	+121
Jefferson Davis	+41	+112
Jones	+87	+99
Kemper	+6	+31
Lamar	+69	+69
Lafayette	+13	+54
Lauderdale	+8	+39
Lawrence	+115	+171
Leake	+55	+91
Lee	+23	+51
Leflore	+152	+211
Lincoln	+27	+49
Lowndes	+28	+66
Madison	+94	+180

Marion	+66	+159
Marshall	+89	+134
Monroe	+87	+120
Montgomery	+32	+72
Neshoba	+29	+65
Newton	+74	+96
Noxubee	+58	+116
Oktibbeha	+24	+59
Panola	+47	+100
Pearl River	+120	+104
Perry	+38	+45
Pike	+56	+59
Pontotoc	+49	+106
Prentiss	+70	+139
Quitman	+98	+144
Rankin	+61	+89
Scott	+34	+61
Sharkey	+120	+217
Simpson	+72	+120
Smith	+13	+52
Stone	+107	+98
Sunflower	+117	+186
Tallahatchie	+102	+157
Tate	+58	+103
Tippah	+22	+66
Tishomingo	+49	+93
Tunica	+95	+160
Union	+61	+109
Walthall	+30	+79
Warren	+43	+63
Washington	+136	+181
Wayne	+62	+103
Webster	+74	+122
Wilkinson	+25	+72
Winston	+1	+35
Yalobusha	+65	+131
Yazoo	+156	+213

Source: 1974 U.S. Census Agriculture, Preliminary Reports

TABLE 26

MONTHLY ALLOTMENTS AND PURCHASE REQUIREMENTS, FOOD STAMP PROGRAM, JANUARY 1, 1977 - JUNE 30, 1977

Number in Household:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
Monthly Allotment:	**$50**	**$92**	**$130**	**$166**	**$198**	**$236**	**$262**	**$298**
Monthly Net Income			**Monthly Purchase Requirement:**					
$ 0 to 19.99	$ 0	$ 0	$ 0	$ 0	$ 0	$ 0	$ 0	$ 0
20 to 29.99	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
30 to 39.99	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5
40 to 49.99	6	7	7	7	8	8	8	8
50 to 59.99	8	10	10	10	11	11	12	12
60 to 69.99	10	12	13	13	14	14	15	16
70 to 79.99	12	15	16	16	17	17	18	19
80 to 89.99	14	18	19	19	20	21	21	22
90 to 99.99	16	21	21	22	23	24	25	26
100 to 109.99	18	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
110 to 119.99	21	26	27	28	29	31	32	33
120 to 129.99	24	29	30	31	33	34	35	36
130 to 139.99	27	32	33	34	36	37	38	39
140 to 149.99	30	35	36	37	39	40	41	42
150 to 169.99	33	38	40	41	42	43	44	45
170 to 189.99	38	44	46	47	48	49	50	51
190 to 209.99	38	50	52	53	54	55	56	57
210 to 229.99	40	56	58	59	60	61	62	63
230 to 249.99	40	62	64	65	66	67	68	69
250 to 269.99		68	70	71	72	73	74	75
270 to 289.99		72	76	77	78	79	80	81
290 to 309.99		72	82	83	84	85	86	87
310 to 329.99		72	88	89	90	91	92	93
330 to 359.99			94	95	96	97	98	99
360 to 389.99			102	104	105	106	107	108
390 to 419.99			111	113	114	115	116	117
420 to 449.99			112	122	123	124	125	126
450 to 479.99				131	132	133	134	135
480 to 509.99				140	141	142	143	144
510 to 539.99				142	150	151	152	153
540 to 569.99				142	159	160	161	162
570 to 599.99					168	169	170	171
600 to 629.99					170	178	179	180
630 to 659.99					170	187	188	189
660 to 689.99					170	196	197	198
690 to 719.99						204	206	207
720 to 749.99						204	215	216
750 to 779.99						204	224	225
780 to 809.99						204	226	234
810 to 839.99							226	243
840 to 869.99							226	252
870 to 899.99								258
900 to 1019.99								258

For each additional household member over eight,
add $38 to the monthly coupon allotment for an eight-person household.

Source: The Food Stamp Program (Washington: USDA, Food and Nutrition Service, December, 1976), p. 16. 121

TABLE 27

COMMUNITY SERVICES ADMINISTRATION POVERTY THRESHOLD GUIDELINES, CONTINENTIAL UNITED STATES, 1976

Family Size	Non-Farm Family	Farm Family
1	$ 2,800	$ 2,400
2	3,700	3,160
3	4,600	3,920
4	5,500	4,680
5	6,400	5,440
6	7,300	6,200

For family units with more than 6 members, add $900 for each additional member in a non-farm family and $760 for each additional member in a farm family.

SOURCE: CSA Instruction 6004-1i, May 5, 1976, p. 3.

CHAPTER 5

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY IN MISSISSIPPI

Poverty is plural. The poor are not a single class with an homogenous set of interests and characteristics except in deficiency of income. They consist of a great many groups with divergent tastes and needs. Statistics at best can only delineate the bare parameters of poverty. However, isolation of categories of the population who are most severely afflicted by poverty has major implications for the allocation of anti-poverty resources. If programs are to be designed which are effective anti-poverty efforts, there must be a clear idea of the categories of poor people toward whom the programs are to be targeted.

The South contained almost one-half of the nation's poor in 1969 as measured by the SSA poverty thresholds. Some two-fifths of the poor were children under 18, two-thirds were white, and one-fifth were over 65. The State with the largest number of poor families was Texas (413,000 or 14.6%), while the State with the largest frequency of incidence of poverty was Mississippi (28.9% or 154,000 families).[1]

Table 1 shows the proportion of families living in Mississippi and the United States in 1970 with reported incomes below the poverty level. Family poverty in the United States decreased from 18.4% to 10.7% between 1959 and 1969. The proportion of families in poverty in Mississippi decreased from nearly one-half in 1959.

TABLE 1

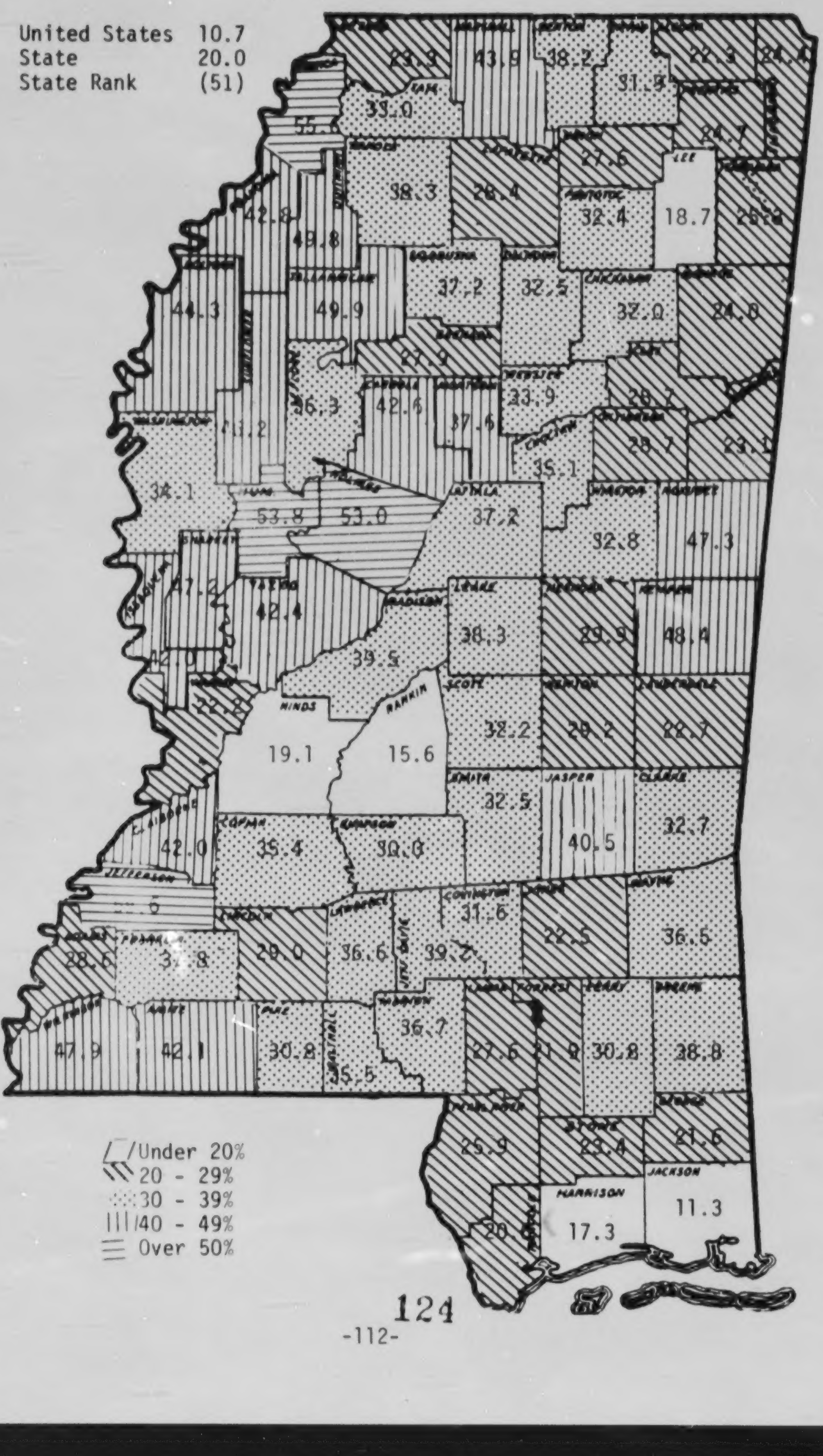
FAMILIES WITH INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL,
UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI, 1959 AND 1969

	PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL			
	FAMILIES		PERSONS	
	1959	1969	1959	1969
United States	18.4	10.7	22.1	13.7
Mississippi	47.9	28.9	54.5	35.4

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1975, p. 400.

FIGURE I: PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH INCOMES UNDER THE POVERTY LEVEL 1969, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

United States	10.7
State	20.0
State Rank	(51)



GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES

County Distribution of Family Poverty

Figure 1 shows the frequency of incidence of poverty among Mississippi families by county. No county in Mississippi had a frequency of incidence of poverty that was under the national figure (10.7%). The proportion of the population in poverty was less than 20% in only five counties. In four Mississippi counties over one-half of the families had incomes under the poverty level.

Table 2 shows the proportion of poor families residing in Mississippi in 1970 according to residential distribution. The frequency of the indidence of family poverty was considerably higher for rural Mississippians (35.1%) than for their urban counterparts (21.2%). The rural population contained 55% of all income families but 67% of the poor families. The urban population contained 45% of the State's families of all income levels, but only one-third of the poor families. Thus, rural Mississippi contained the largest number as well as the largest proportion of the State's poor.

TABLE 2

FAMILIES LIVING IN POVERTY, 1969, BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA DISTRIBUTION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Residence	Poverty Families in Specified Geographic Area %	Percent all Families in State in Specified Areas	Percent of Total Poverty Families	Index of Difference
State	28.9	100%	100%	--
Urban[1]				
Total	21.2	44.9	33.1	-11.8
Urbanized Areas[2]				
Total	16.0	14.5	8.2	-6.3
Central Cities	17.1	10.9	6.7	-4.2
Suburbs	12.5	3.6	1.5	-2.1
Urban Places				
2,500-10,000	24.8	10.7	9.2	-1.5
Above 10,000	23.2	19.8	15.9	-3.9
Rural				
Total	35.1	55.1	66.9	+11.8
Non-farm	35.0	43.0	52.2	+9.2
Farm	35.3	12.1	14.8	+2.7

TABLE 2 (cont'd.)

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[1] Population in places of 2,500 or more. Column 1 percentages refer to total urban families, etc.

[2] Municipalities of 50,000 plus densely settled surrounding territory. Central cities refers to the legal boundaries of the central municipality; suburbs to the closely settled surrounding area.

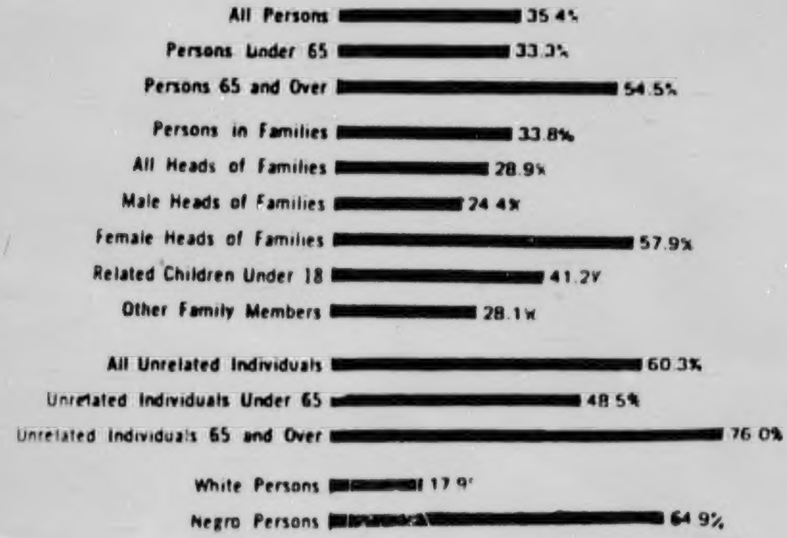
Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970 "General Social and Economic Characteristics, Mississippi," Table 69.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POOR

Figure 2 shows the distribution of persons in Mississippi in 1970 reporting 1969 incomes below the poverty level by selected demographic characteristics. Some 35% of all Mississippians were on the poverty roster. One out of every three persons under age 65 was poor, while over one-half (54.5%) of the Mississippians 65 and over were poor.

FIGURE 2

PERSONS BELOW POVERTY LEVEL IN 1969 PERCENT OF SELECTED POPULATION GROUPS



Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Ethnicity and Household Status

Unrelated individuals were more likely to be in poverty than were persons in families. Nearly half (48.5%) of the unrelated Mississippians under 65 lived in poverty, while over three-fourths of those 65 and over were poor. Of those persons living in families, female heads (57.9%) and related children under 18 (41.2%) had the highest frequencies of poverty. Some 65% of Mississippi's blacks were poor, compared to 18% of the white population. (Figure 2)

Table 3 provides a breakdown of the percentage of unrelated individuals in Mississippi in 1970 with 1969 incomes below the poverty level according to residential distribution. Over 90% of the unrelated black females in Mississippi reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level. Irrespective of age, race, or sex, rural nonfarm related individuals generally had the highest rate of poverty of any residential category.

TABLE 3

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES, PERCENT OF TOTAL AND PERCENT INCIDENCE, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF INCIDENCE
Total	681,754	100.0%	33.5
White	200,249	29.4	36.1
Nonwhite*	481,505	70.6	63.6

* Includes nonwhites other than blacks.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

CHILDREN IN POVERTY

The Office of Education in the Department of HEW, which distributes funds authorized by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, utilizes a formula that includes the estimated number of children age 5-17 in families in poverty in each State according to the 1970 census. However, as we move forward in time from the decennial census, the interstate relationships of children in poverty are likely to be modified because of differential rates of change in family formation and dissolution and because of alterations in economic activity. The Educational Amendments of 1974 to the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 required the Bureau of the Census to furnish current data for each State as to school age children in poverty families. Accordingly, a Survey of Income and Education (SIE) was conducted in 1976 to gather this information.[2]

Table 4 compares the total and school age populations of Mississippi and the United States as percentages of population by specified economic measures. Nearly 41% of the school age children in Mississippi in 1970 were poor by the Orshansky Index, compared to about 15% for the U.S. as a whole. Some 75.5% of the children in Mississippi in 1970 lived in familes with incomes of less than 200% of the poverty level, compared to 42% for the rest of the country. For all measures shown, Mississippi had the highest proportion of total and of school age population falling below these measures of any State in the nation.

TABLE 4

PERCENT OF TOTAL, POPULATION AND SCHOOL AGE[1] POPULATION IN POVERTY BY ALTERNATIVE DEFINITIONS, MISSISSIPPI AND THE UNITED STATES, 1970

	S.S.A. Poverty Index 2				
	75%	100%	125%	150%	200%
Total					
U.S.	9.5	13.9	19.0	24.3	36.3
Mississippi	27.3	35.3	43.9	51.2	64.4
School Age					
U.S.	15.2	10.3	21.1	27.5	42.1
Mississippi	32.2	40.9	51.6	59.4	72.5

	Single Dollar Amounts[3]		Relative Measures[4]	
	Low	High	50% U.S. Median	50% U.S. Median Family
Total				
U.S.	13.9	16.1	17.5	19.7
Mississippi	30.3	34.5	40.3	45.4
School Age				
U.S.	9.5	11.3	15.6	21.9
Mississippi	27.5	32.0	40.9	53.4

1. Age 5-17

2. See chapter two for discussion of the S.S.A. Index. Interpretive illustration: 13.9% of the U.S. population (1970) reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level, compared with 35.3% of the Mississippi population. Inconsistency with other census data is probably due to the differential sampling fraction.

3. Without adjustment for family composition. Amounts: Low=$3,200, High=$5,038.

4. The median is that income figure which evenly divides the population in half, i.e., 50% of the cases above and 50% below the median figure. If the median is $5,000 (meaning the mid-point), 50% of the median would be $2,500.

Source: U.S. Department HEW, The Measure of Poverty (April, 1976), pp. 104-130. The data are based on a special tabulation of a 1:100 sample of the 1970 census.

During 1970-1975 both the proportions and number of children in poverty in the South declined from 49.6% of all poor to 43.4% of all poor. Table 5 shows the comparison between the 1970 census data and the 1976 Survey of Income and Education for Mississippi and the United States.

TABLE 5

POOR CHILDREN, AGE 5-17, UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI, 1970 AND 1975

	1970 Census		1975 SIE	
	Number (1,000)	Percent	Number (1,000)	Percent
United States	7,700	14.8	7,131	14.5
Mississippi	262	41.6	194	32.6

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce News Release G 77 - 26. (February 28, 1977), p.5.

According to SIE, the total number of school age children in Mississippi during 1970-1975 decreased by 630,288 to 596,000, while the number of poor school aged children dropped from 261,679 to 194,340. While the total number of children ages 5-17 decreased by 5.5%, the number of poor children dropped by 26%. Nevertheless, Mississippi had the largest percentage of poor school age children of any State in the republic in 1975.

Reported family income divided by the corresponding applicable poverty threshold gives the ratio of family income to the poverty threshold. Table 6 shows the proportion of family members in families reporting incomes within the specified poverty ratios by race and ethnicity.

In terms of ethnicity, blacks are shown to fare much worse than whites. Some 31% of the members of black families in Mississippi in 1970 lived in families with reported incomes of less than one-half of the poverty threshold. The proportion of black family members exceeds the proportion of white counterparts at each category from the lowest rate (under .50 of the poverty threshold) through the near-poor category (income from 1.00 to 1.24 of the threshold). The proportion of black families reporting incomes of 1.25 to 1.49 of the poverty threshold exceeds the proportion of whites by a considerable margin. At each category above 1.50 of the threshold the proportion of whites exceeds the proportion of blacks by progressively increasing amounts.

In terms of residential distribution, the highest proportion of extreme poor (ratio under .50) is found among the rural farm population (20.1%). In terms of absolute numbers, however, the rural nonfarm population has the largest block of extreme poor (173,341), compared to 88,007 extreme poor urban residents (10%) in families and 40,937 extreme poor rural farm members of families.

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF FAMILY MEMBERS WITH INCOMES BY SPECIFIED RATIO TO POVERTY LEVELS, BY RACE AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

RATIO	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM
under .50	14.9	5.5	30.7	10.0	18.2	20.1
.50 to .74	10.0	4.7	19.1	7.4	12.0	12.0
.75 to .99	8.6	5.5	13.8	7.3	9.6	9.8
1.00 to 1.24	8.2	6.6	10.8	7.2	9.1	7.6
1.25 to 1.49	7.2	7.3	27.3	7.0	7.7	6.5
1.50 to 1.99	12.9	15.4	8.7	13.3	12.3	11.3
2.00 to 2.99	18.4	25.6	6.3	20.9	16.9	14.7
3.00 or more	19.6	29.3	3.2	26.8	13.3	17.9

Column Totals Circa 100%

Source: Computed from data in *U.S. Census of Population, 1970*, "Detailed Charactersitics, Mississippi," PC (1)-D26, Table 207.

Table 7 looks at the proportion of *poverty* family members with specified ratios of income to the poverty threshold. At least forty percent of all members of the poor families living in Mississippi in 1970 reported 1969 incomes below .50 of the poverty threshold for all categories specified in Table 7 except the white poor. The white population had the largest proportion who were the closest to being nonpoor (35.4%) according to the poverty thresholds. *This would indicate that not only was the incidence of poverty itself much greater among blacks, but that the severity was greater also*.

TABLE 7

RATIO OF INCOME TO POVERTY THRESHOLD FOR MEMBERS OF POVERTY FAMILIES, BY RACE AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

ALL FAMILY MEMBERS	BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	RATIO OF INCOME TO POVERTY LEVEL*		
		UNDER .50	.50 to .74	.74 to .99
State	33.5	44.3	29.9	25.8
White	15.7	35.0	29.6	35.4
Black	63.6	48.2	30.0	21.7

TABLE 7 (cont'd.)

ALL FAMILY MEMBERS	BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	RATIO OF INCOME TO POVERTY LEVEL*		
		UNDER .50	.50 to .74	.74 TO .99
Urban	24.7	40.6	29.8	29.8
Black	53.2	42.5	30.7	26.7
Rural Nonfarm	39.9	45.6	30.3	24.1
Black	70.5	50.9	29.8	19.3
Rural Farm	41.8	48.1	28.5	23.4
Black	70.2	51.9	28.8	19.3
Jackson SMSA	22.6	43.4	27.7	28.8
Black	49.2	44.6	28.2	27.2

* Percentages refer to total poverty families of applicable race/residence category.

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970. "Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi, PC(1)-D26, Table 207.

Similarly, the incidence of extreme poverty in Mississippi was greater among unrelated individuals than among members of families (Table 8).

TABLE 8

PERCENT OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY THRESHOLD, MEMBERS OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	PERCENT WITH INCOMES OF SPECIFIED RATIO TO POVERTY THRESHOLD		
		Under .50	.50 to .74	.79 to .99
Member of Families	33.5	44.3	29.9	25.8
Unrelated Individuals	60.4	36.7	15.7	8.1
Unrelated Males	51.9	31.1	13.5	7.2
Unrelated Females	65.3	39.7	16.9	8.7

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

SUMMARY

Identification of those population categories characterized by greater likelihood of poverty is a necessary ingredient in developing plans to alleviate poverty and the problems associated with it. This chapter has sought to briefly identify the categories of the poor in Mississippi in terms of who they are and the manner in which they are distributed throughout the State.

These data may be summarized as:

1. Mississippi has the largest proportion of poor families and persons of any State in the republic.

2. The frequency of the incidence of poverty in Mississippi is more pronounced among the following groups:

   Persons over age 65 than under age 65.

   Persons living alone than persons living in families.

   Black families than white families.

   Female headed than male headed families.

   Rural residents than urban residents.

3. Mississippi has the largest proportion of school age children in poverty of any State in the republic.

4. Among the poor, the severty of poverty as indicated by ratio of income to poverty thresholds is greater among the black poor than the white poor, and the unrelated poor rather than the poor who are members of families.

The above information does not provide any insight per se into the causes of poverty nor the steps which should be taken to remedy poverty and the problems of which it is a cause or result. However, if anti-poverty efforts are to be successful, they must deal with the causes and results of poverty among those identified target groups whose frequency of the incidence of poverty makes these problems particularly characteristic of them.

CHAPTER APPENDIX TABLE I

NUMBER OF POOR, SEVERELY POOR[1] AND NEAR POOR,[2] FAMILIES AND PERSONS, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI POPULATION, 1970

Category	TOTAL Number	TOTAL Percent	WHITE Number	WHITE Percent	BLACK Number	BLACK Percent
POOR						
Families	154,254	28.9	59,525	15.9	94,148	59.2
Persons	766,605	35.4	242,628	17.9	520,746	64.9
SEVERELY POOR						
Families	112,460	21.0	39,336	10.5	72,692	45.7
Persons	572,355	26.4	162,823	12.1	407,132	50.7
NEAR POOR						
Families	193,409	36.2	82,065	21.9	110,676	69.6
Persons	932,575	43.1	329,348	24.3	599,480	74.6

[1] Income less than 75% of poverty level.
[2] Income less than 125% of poverty level.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics Final Report PC (1) - C26, Mississippi, p. 26-168.

1. Arkansas (22.8%), Louisiana (21.5%) and Alabama (20.7%) were the only other States with more than 20% of the families residing there in 1970 reporting 1969 incomes below the poverty level. Some twenty-seven States had less than 10% of their population so classified.

2. "When comparing income and poverty statistics from various surveys and censuses, some differences...are to be expected even if they are for the same time period and are the same basic income concepts... the March 1970 Current Population Survey estimated that there were 24.1 million persons in poverty in the United States in 1969, whereas the 1970 census estimated for the same year was 27.1 million... The SIE estimate was 24.0 million--about 7 percent lower than the recently published estimate of 25.9 million from the March 1976 CPS." "A Brief Statement on the Survey of Income and Education and Other Related Matters," Enclosure A, U.S. Department of Commerce News Release, G77-26, February 28, 1977.

CHAPTER 6

MISSISSIPPI'S INCOME: SOURCES AND MEASUREMENT

The most meaningful dimension of the distribution of material rewards for most people is measured by direct personal or family income.[1] This chapter examines this aspect of Mississippi's welfare in terms of characteristic income measures and in terms of the source of this income.

Students of economic indicators use several measures of income in comparing changes in economic welfare through time and in comparing one area with another. Since measures of income vary in definition, meaning, and indication, a definition of the income measures discussed in this chapter is in order.

Definitions of Income Measures

One way of measuring income is to tally the number or proportion of families or individuals who recieve yearly incomes of more or less than specified amounts. The figure of $3,000, for example, was used to measure poverty in the 1960 census. Unless adjusted to decreased purchasing power of the dollar, real gains in purchasing power over time will be less (unless prices decrease over time) than the absolute gains between periods. Of course, this is also true for any unadjusted measure of income.

Per capita income is the aritmetic mean, i.e., total income divided by the number of persons in an area. Per capita income (PCI) is the sum of wage and salary income, net self-employment income, income from public transfers (i.e., social security or public assistance income) plus other income such as interest, dividends, veteran's emoluments, pensions, alimony, and unemployment collections. The total represents the amount of income received before taxes.[2]

Total personal income (TPI) is the sum of wage and salary payments, fringe payments (employer pension contributions, social security taxes, and similar payments for indirect compensation not classified as wage or salary disbursements), proprietary income, property income, and transfer payments less personal taxes for social security. TPI is often used to measure economic growth and PCI is generally used to indicate economic well being of individuals.[3]

PERSONAL AND PER CAPITA INCOME IN MISSISSIPPI

Like other States, Mississippi has experienced a general growth in personal and per capita income. Table 1, which shows personal income in Mississippi 1951-1975, shows an increase in the State's total income of 428% during this time. During the twenty year period

1956-1975, TPI in Mississippi increased 337%, compared to 274% for the United States. Subsequent to 1970 TPI in Mississippi increased by 63% through 1975, compared to 54% for the United States.

TABLE 1

TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME AND PERCENT CHANGE FROM PRIOR YEAR, MISSISSIPPI, 1951-1975

YEAR	AMOUNT	PERCENT CHANGE FROM PRIOR YEAR
1951	1,796	--
1952	1,907	6.2
1953	1,943	1.9
1954	1,875	-3.5
1955	2,102	12.1
1956	2,141	1.9
1957	2,172	1.4
1958	2,572	9.4
1960	2,632	2.3
1961	2,820	7.1
1962	2,979	5.6
1963	3,291	10.5
1964	3,423	4.0
1965	3,748	9.5
1966	4,128	10.1
1967	4,431	7.3
1968	4,856	8.6
1969	5,244	8.0
1970	5,706	8.8
1971	6,378	11.8
1972	7,188	12.7
1973	8,206	14.2
1974	8,839	7.7
1975	9,481	7.3

Scurce: 1951-1970, Guy T. Peden and Gaines M. Rogers, Mississippi Personal Income, (State College: College of Business nad Industry, Mississippi State University, 1972), p. 13: 1971-1975, Survey of Current Business, (April, 1976), p.9.

Possibly the most useful single measure of relative economic welfare in an area is per capita income, since this pertains most closely to personal satisfaction in general.[4] As may be seen in Table 2, per capita income in Mississippi has increased substantially both in absolute amount and in relative proportion to the national per capita. Between 1956 and 1975, Mississippi per capita income in-

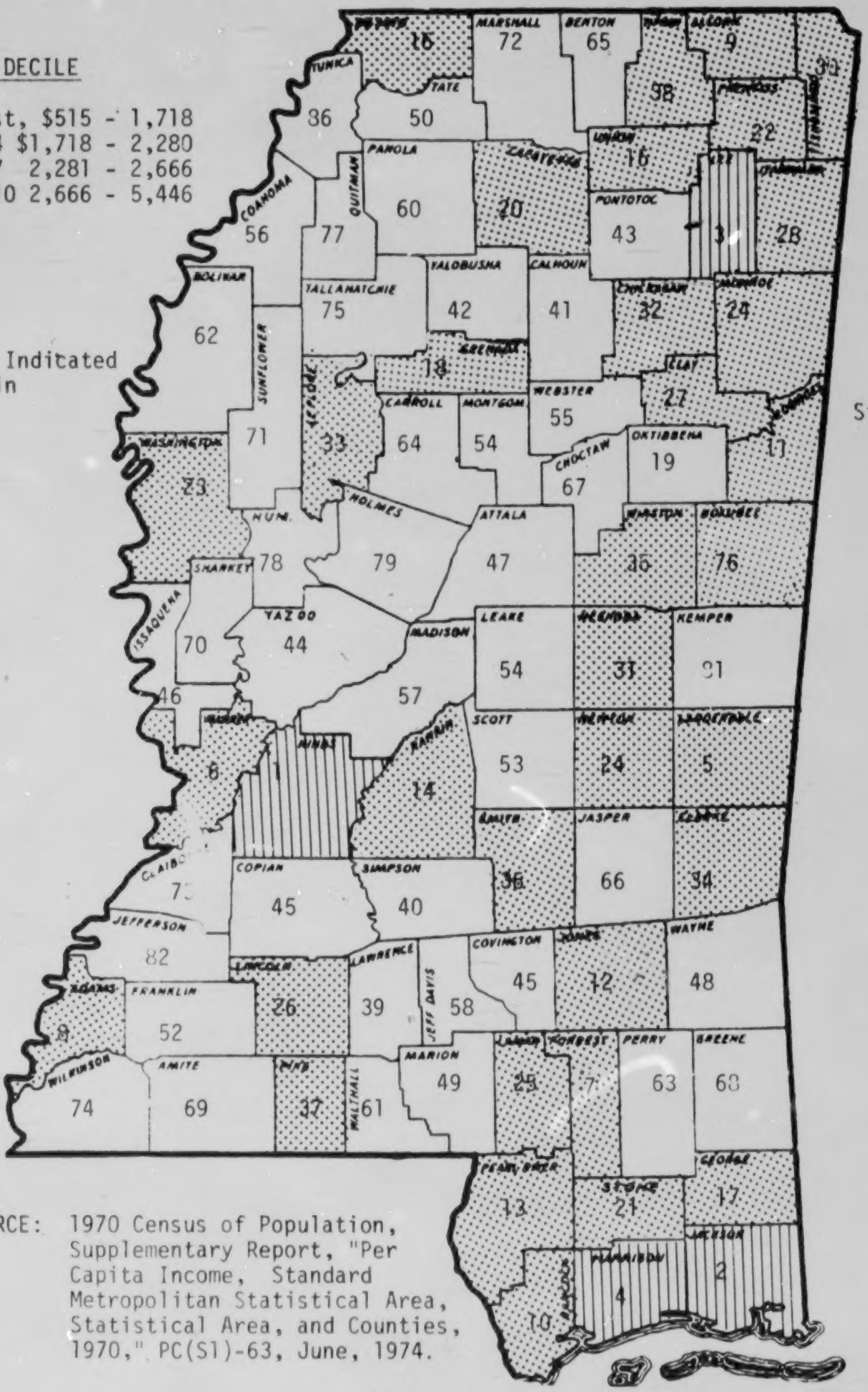
PER CAPITA INCOME, 1969, COUNTY POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970, BY
BY STATE RANK AND NATIONAL DECILE

NATIONAL DECILE

☐ Lowest, $515 - 1,718
░ 2,3,4 $1,718 - 2,280
▥ 5,6,7 2,281 - 2,666
▤ 8,9,10 2,666 - 5,446

State Rank Inditated by figure in County

Figure 1



State Rank (51)

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population, Supplementary Report, "Per Capita Income, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Statistical Area, and Counties, 1970," PC(S1)-63, June, 1974.

creased by an absolute amount of $3,001 or 289%. The increases for the South and the United States respectively were 243% and 194%. For the last five years, the comparative figures for Mississippi, the Southeast, and the United States are 54%, 51%, and 47%. Although per capita income in Mississippi has increased more rapidly than the regional or national figures, Mississippi still remains the lowest of all States.[5]

Figure 1 shows the 1969 per capita income of Mississippi counties by county rank, as well as the counties according to national decile. Mississippi had the lowest per capita income of any State. No county in Mississippi ranked in the top three deciles, while only four counties ranked in the top 50%. Hinds county, which had the highest per capita income in the State, ranked 948th of the 3,141 counties in the nation.

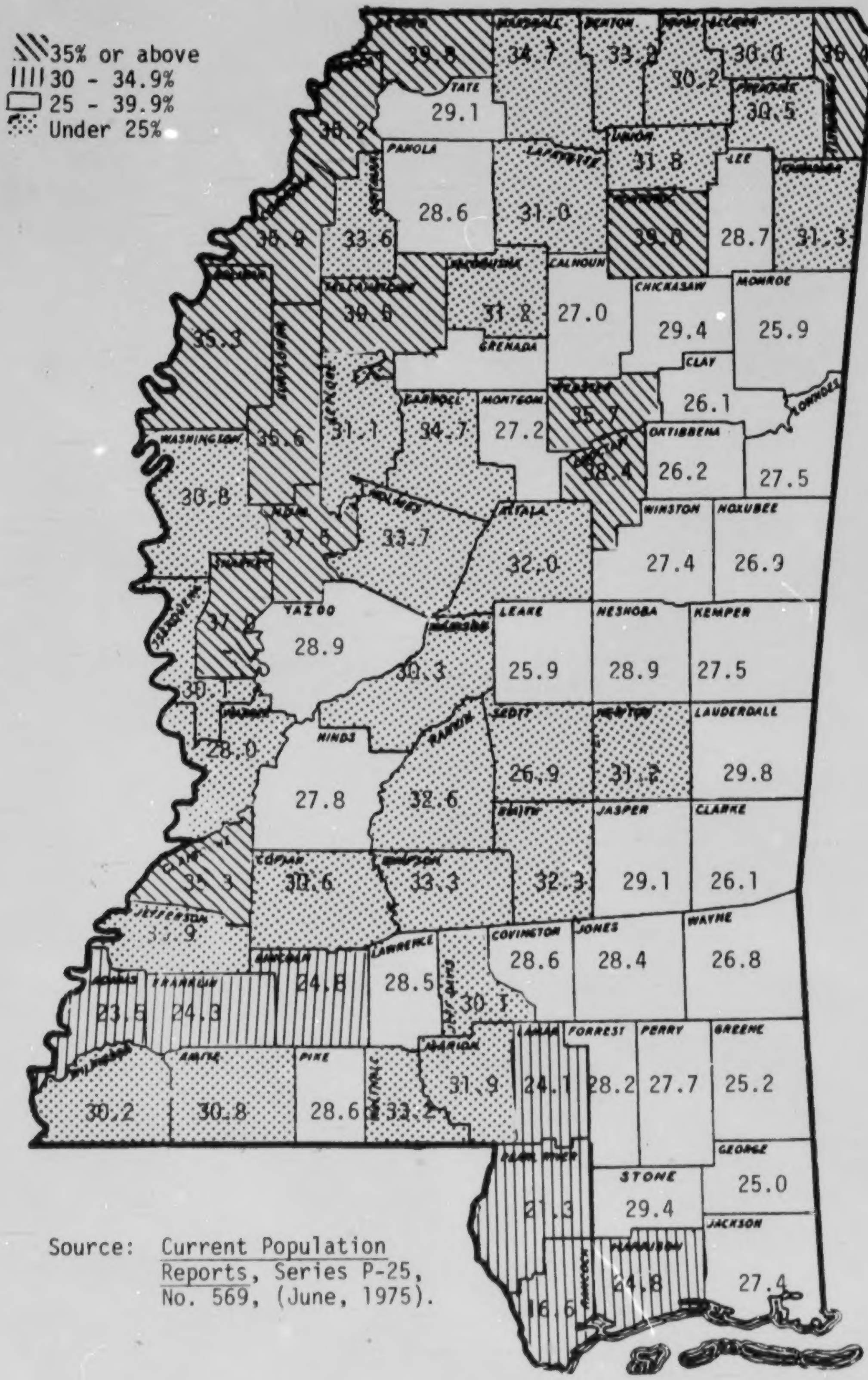
Looking further at the comparative State distribution, only about a dozen Mississippi counties had higher per capita incomes than the State per capita. Figure 2, which shows the percentage increase in per capita for Mississippi counties 1970-1973, shows that the per capita income in thirteen Mississippi counties increased by 35% or more. In only six counties was there a per capita income increase of less than 25%.

Factors Raising Per Capita Income

Improvement in the ratio of per capita income of one area to another comes primarily from a relative increase in personal income. It may also come from a relative decrease in population, particularly through out-movement of persons of low marginal-value productivity. Migration has been the historic method by which Americans have adjusted to changing economic opportunities. Given the limits of the land available, off-farm migration in Southern States has been essential to maintaining existing per capita income levels. Absence of employment opportunities within the region prompted movement to industrial centers outside the South. This migration helped to mitigate the South's economic problem, but the out-movement has not been adequate to accomplish more than a mild result. While the poverty of sending areas would have been greatly incremented without the mobility, the volume of out-migrants who could find employment outside the region has never been sufficiently large to result in much comparative improvement in the economy.[6] Some Southern counties which have been characterized by heavy out-migration for more than a century continue to be characterized by large numbers of low income families.[7]

Aside from the inadequate volume, migration is a limited factor in raising per capita income.[8] Furthermore, it has been argued that a large part of the South's investment in education and training is lost if the recipients move to other areas upon reaching

FIGURE 2
PERCENT CHANGE IN PER CAPITA INCOME, 1970-1973



Source: Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 569, (June, 1975).

productive age. As Daniel Price, a sociologist who made an extensive study of the literature on rural migration and poverty as well as conducting primary research on black migrants from Yazoo County, Mississippi to Chicago under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity put it, this "rural to urban migration provides an urban area with additions to the labor force that have cost the urban area nothing to rear and educate."[9] This has been regarded as a vicious circle of northern subsidization which could be remedied only by industrialization within the South.[10] As early as the 1930s warnings were voiced that Southern States could ill afford the loss of the labor[11] and leadership[12] of those most likely to migrate.

To a considerable extent, the "problem of low per capita income in the South is one of low-income for black persons, especially those of rural residents."[13] High birth rates have helped to lower per capita income. Furthermore, the rate of declining agriculture employment has been greater for blacks than for whites, largely as a result of the concentration of black agricultural workers in cotton.[14]

Numerous commentators have cited technological innovation in agriculture as a major source of the poor economic conditions of Southern blacks.[15] Programs operated by the Department of Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service,as acreage allotments, marketing quotas, soil bank, and price support programs are cited by Price as in many cases having had the effect of reducing the available agriculture employment and thereby forcing many people into nonfarm employment either with or without migration.[16] Schon has estimated that extension of the federal minimum wage law to agricultual workers previously not covered resulted in the displacement of 50,000 people in Mississippi alone during its first year.[17]

Price's study for the OEO amassed considerable evidence to show that poor rural-urban South-North migrants[18] constitute a minority of poor persons in northern slums, that welfare costs and social problems of cities are not related to arrivals of recent migrants, that blacks are not unduly represented among migrants to urban areas, and that rural-urban North-South migrants tend to be better off than their rural counterparts. This led Price to the conclusion that "given the total situation...the individuals themselves are better off, the area of out-migration is frequently relieved of 'surplus' population with the result that the remaining individuals are better off, and while the in-migrant may well cost the city government some sort of cash expenditure, if he does not stay in poverty, this will be more than repaid."[19]

Impact of Industrial Development

Another form of movement which may be instrumental in raising per capita economic level of a population is that of a vertical migration or movement into higher paying jobs without the requisite of spatial mobility. However, it is important to point out that even the economic welfare of recipients of an area which receives new industry is not necessarily enhanced by the acquisition of high wage industry if the low-income persons in the area are not in position to take advantage of the jobs provided. It is entirely possible to have an increase in per capita income and apparently in the economic health of an area to the extent that increased per capita income is the criterion of measurement without proportionate benefits necessarily flowing to the low income population of the area. This may occur when the beneficiaries of the jobs are in-migrants from other areas.[20]

While attraction of high wage industry is often cited as the curative for the economic ills of a depressed area, Colberg has cautioned that this is a dangerous fallacy which neglects the important concept of comparative advantage. Areas with large surpluses of ordinary labor require the types of industry that employ much ordinary labor at rates of pay which will be well below that of industries where skill requirements are high. Thus, Colberg, states, "truly labor intensive rather than human capital intensive industry is needed by many communities."[21]

Impact studies have shown that the amount of jobs created for local people in a rural poverty area depends, among other things, on the skill level demanded by the plant. The corollary of this is that low-wage labor-intensive plants (often condemned for their low pay)[22] have much higher local employment multiplier effects because of the labor supply.[23] Tolley and Hgort recommend that since industrialization favors younger and skilled workers, federal or State decentralized function facilities should perhaps be established in rural areas (e.g., military bases), with the deliberate policy of hiring older workers where there are such worker concentrations.[24]

The Rural Development Act of 1972 was designed to encourage and accelerate economic growth in rural areas.[25] The dispersion of urban welfare responsibilites onto other entities seemingly was a primary motivation.[26] It was assumed that rural industrialization "would increase employment and services, increase incomes, inject new money into the community, and, in general, improve the quality of life.[27]

Youmans[28] reports that many rural communties have painfully discovered that the expected benefits from industrialization have not been achieved. Preliminary evidence suggests that the process of industrialization in many rural areas of the nation has had a differential impact upon various categories of persons. Some groups in the communities have benefited while other groups have experienced detrimental effects.[29]

Although Mississippi has the lowest per capita income in the nation, this does not necessarily imply that the quality of life in Mississippi is the lowest in the nation. Furthermore, even if the quality-of-life in Mississippi were the lowest in the nation, it is not necessarily a truism that increased per capita income would be curative. Ultimately the relation between income and quality of life depends on the ratio between income and the cost of obtaining desired amenities. Consequently, where quality of life amenities are at a premium, even significant changes in income may be insufficient to make up the differential. There is a tendency to focus attention on the expected benefits of industrial development without considering its costs. It is important to recognize that measures of economic impact may not reflect benefits to low income individuals. Indeed, it can involve a circulation of wealth with only minimum impact on area labor. Consequently, one must be careful when looking at general trends since they do not necessarily mean that all groups benefit or even that some do not actually experience decrements in their quality of life.

Impact of Migration

Migration is an important element in the adjustment of population to employment opportunity. When high wage industry comes into an area it may raise per capita income through in-movement of persons with specified training, but have little multiplier effect on low skill labor already in the area. If low income population already in an area is the focus of attention, the need in labor surplus areas is the kind of low wage industry which is able to absorb local labor.

Increased per capita income in Mississippi is the result of a combination of factors, including the flow of material and human capital into the State coupled with a heavy out-migration of labor possessing low marginal-value utility. Out-migration of low income families is a direct way of raising per capita income in a region.[30] Furthermore, as Hansen and Morrison have argued, 'the greatly enhanced economic position of migrants over nonmigrants prompts the suggestion that attempts to stop migration are counter productive.[31] Given this position, efforts to promote and assist out-migration seem appropriate.[32] Furthermore, recent research has contradicted the causal implication of urban problems to rural in-migration.[33] Mueller and Lean maintain that two things needed to assist depressed areas include a system providing information about job opportunities elsewhere and programs to improve the quality and mobility potential of labor.[34]

SOURCES OF INCOME

Type of Income Source

Table 3 shows the source of 1969 income for all families living in Mississippi in 1970. About 91% of the aggregate family income in 1969 was derived from earnings in wage and salary income and self-employment income. The remainder was derived through Social Security (3.9%), public assistance (1.0%), and other sources (4.4%).

Social Security income includes cash payments made by the Social Security Administration under the national old age, survivors, disability and health payments transfer programs plus cash outlays by the government under the U.S. Railroad Retirement Act. Medicare payments are not included. Public assistance income includes cash receipt of payments made under the aid to families with dependent children, old-age assistance, general assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled programs previously administered by State welfare departments. Excluded from this calculation are separate payments for hospital or other medical care as well as non-money benefits of direct cash value derived from such social service programs as food stamp plans, commodity distribution, subsidized housing, medicaid, and school lunch programs.

Other income includes earnings from interest, property rentals, dividends, trusts, insurance, roomers or boarders, royalties, alimony, gambling, or private pensions plus such transfer programs as public pensions, unemployment insurance benefits, educational awards, and support for persons participating in special governmental training programs.

TABLE 3

PERCENT OF 1969 FAMILY INCOME RECEIVED FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES, ALL INCOME AND POOR FAMILIES, BY RACE OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

SOURCE	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR
Earnings	90.6	68.3	91.4	60.4	86.4	72.5
Social Security	3.9	17.9	3.4	26.1	6.9	13.5
Public Assistance	1.0	9.6	0.4	6.8	4.2	11.1
Other	4.4	4.1	4.8	6.4	2.5	2.9

Source: U.S. Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Mississippi, (PC (1)) -C26, Table 212.

Table 3 shows that earnings were the most significant source of income for both the white and black population, with the latter receiving a somewhat larger proportion of total income from sources other than wage, salary, or self-employment income. The importance of transfer payments in maintaining the economic viability of poor families may be seen by comparing the sources of income of Mississippi families with those whose 1969 incomes were below the poverty line. About two-thirds of the income of poor families was derived from earnings (91.3% for whites, 72.5% for blacks). The significance of social security benefits for Mississippi's poor is readily apparent in that 17.9% of the aggregate income of Mississippi's poor families was derived from social security payments.

A major racial difference may be noted be noted by contrasting shares of social security and public assistance payments received by different racial categories. Whereas social security payments made up over one-fourth (26.1%) of the cash income of Mississippi's poor white families in 1969, such payments accounted for only about one-half as much of the cash income of poor black families (13.5%).

The original Social Security Act did not cover agricultural or domestic workers, occupational categories in which many aged blacks were employed during their working life. Although the Social Security Act was subsequently changed to cover workers in these occupations, the fact that many aged blacks spent their working life in occupations that were not previously enrolled in the social security program probably accounts for the discrepancy between the proportions of poor white and black persons receiving social security income.[35]

There was a decline in the proportion of aged poor nationally from 24.5% in 1970 to 16.3% in 1973 This decrease has been attributed to increases in social security benefits enacted after 1970. The number of aged poor whites and poor blacks decreased by 32.3% and 10.2% respectively during this time. The decrease in the number of poor aged blacks did not parallel the white decrease, a likely artifact of the traditional employment of blacks in occupations that did not provide for participation in the social security program.[36]

TABLE 4

PERCENT OF FAMILIES RECEIVING INCOME FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES, 1969, ALL INCOME AND POOR FAMILIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

SOURCE	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR
Earnings	88.3	68.8	90.0	58.1	84.5	75.6
Social Security	22.8	35.1	20.9	42.1	27.1	30.8
Public Assistance	11.1	27.5	5.2	17.3	24.8	33.9
Other	17.6	9.9	21.5	14.2	8.3	7.1

Source: Same as Table 3.

Table 4 shows the percent of families receiving 1969 income from specified sources. The importance of public transfer programs in the income provision of poor Mississippi families is again illustrated. Over one-third of the State's poor families received cash grants from social security, and over one-fourth from State administered public assistance programs, in 1968. A noticeably large number of poor black families had earned income from salaries and wages.

A larger percentage of black than white income of poor Mississippians in 1969 was derived from earnings (72.5% contrasted with 60.6%). Poor black families also received a larger share of their income from public assistance (11.1% compared to 6.8%). For nonpoor families, earnings and other income accounted for a large proportion of the income of white families, with social security and public assistance transfers accounting for a large share of the income of black families (Table 4).

Age and Source of Income

Tabel 5 and 6 shows the percent of aggregate family income derived from specified services, plus the percent of families receiving income from these services for all income levels, by age of family head. Tables 4 and 5 shows the same data for poor families.

TABLE 5

PERCENT OF 1969 FAMILY INCOME RECEIVED FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES
BY RACE AND AGE OF FAMILY HEAD, ALL FAMILIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	Under 25		25-64		65 and over	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Earnings	97.4	94.9	94.5	91.6	56.2	52.6
Social Security	0.5	1.4	1.5	3.4	24.0	29.4
Public Assistance	0.1	1.7	0.2	2.9	2.3	12.7
Other	2.0	2.0	3.7	2.1	17.5	5.4

Source: Same as Table 3.

The role of earnings as an income source decreased sharply after age 65 for poor and nonpoor families of both races. Earnings, which accounted for over 90% of the aggregate income for under 65 whites and blacks in Mississippi of all income levels, dropped to less than 60% for families whose head was above this age. Social Security transfers assumed increasing significance as an income source for families with elderly heads, accounting for nearly two-thirds of the aggregate family income for white families with an elderly head and just over two-fifths of the aggregate income of families headed by an elderly black. Over 80% of the white families and nearly 76% of the black families with an elderly head received income from social security in 1969.

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF FAMILIES RECEIVING 1969 INCOMES FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES BY RACE AND AGE OF FAMILY HEAD, ALL FAMILIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	Under 25		25-64		65 and over	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Earnings	94.3	89.5	96.1	91.7	53.3	57.5
Social Security	2.7	6.6	11.3	15.1	81.9	75.7
Public Assistance	1.4	11.6	3.6	19.6	16.3	47.4
Other	13.4	5.7	19.6	7.0	36.1	13.6

Source: Same as Table 3.

It seems clear that whites of retirement age were more advantaged than blacks in being positioned to receive income from other sources such as rent, pensions, and annuities. Over one-third of the families headed by elderly whites, contrasted to only 14% of the families headed by elderly blacks, received income from other sources. Consequently, a far larger proportion of the income of families headed by elderly blacks was derived from earnings through wages and salaries than was the case for white families. At the same time public assistance occupied a greater role among blacks of all age levels.

Table 7 shows the percentage distribution of total earnings in Mississippi by source for selected years. Farm earnings, as a percentage of all earnings, decreased from 28.6% in 1950 to 5% in 1975. Fully 20% of the earnings in Mississippi in 1975 were directly derived from federal, State and local government earnings.

Income from Agricultural Activity

Some 59% of the cash receipts for farm commodities in Mississippi in 1974 were for crops, and 40% for livestock products. Cotton still accounted for the largest percentage of income (29%).

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS, BY SOURCE, SELECTED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI, 1929-1975

Source	1929	1940	1950	1959	1962	1965	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Farm Earnings	43.8	29.5	28.6	16.9	15.0	14.4	11.1	11.1	10.6	12.9	9.0	5.0
Private Nonfarm Earnings	50.3	54.1	57.1	65.9	66.0	67.6	69.7	69.7	70.3	68.6	71.7	75.0
Federal Government Earnings	2.5	9.8	8.3	8.9	9.6	8.5	8.8	8.6	8.6	8.2	8.3	8.7
State and Local Government Earnings	3.4	6.6	6.0	8.3	9.4	9.5	10.4	10.6	10.5	10.3	11.0	11.3

Source: Peden and Rogers, 1976, p. 11.

Soybeans accounted for 23% of the agricultural cash receipts in Mississippi in 1974. Poultry and eggs accounted for 19% of the total value. All vegetables accounted for 1% of the cash receipts from agricultural products by Mississippi farmers in 1974. Meat animals accounted for 14.5% and dairy products for 5.4% of the total cash receipts.

The largest immediate change (1972 - 1974) in the percentage of income received relative to total cash receipts from agricultural marketings was the proportionate decline in the proportion in livestock products (from 52.8% in 1972) and the increase (from 47.5% in 1972) in the proportion in crops. The actual value of both livestock and crop production receipts increased (9.3% for livestock and 75.7% for crops), but the increased farm income was

TABLE 8

INCOME FROM AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY
MISSISSIPPI, 1949-1974

YEAR	PRODUCT SALES	GOVERNMENT GIFTS	IN-KIND VALUE	NET FARM INCOME
1949	501.5	4.8	122.3	270.0
1950	493.1	9.9	116.3	337.6
1951	549.9	8.2	123.5	362.0
1952	546.6	5.7	127.1	406.9
1953	659.6	2.7	120.7	378.9
1954	518.8	5.9	111.9	263.3
1955	555.7	6.4	106.3	369.2
1956	584.8	9.1	97.1	261.9
1957	453.7	25.8	93.6	202.7
1958	537.9	43.7	92.9	233.9
1959	642.3	13.6	85.0	274.1
1960	588.2	12.5	84.4	233.8
1961	655.6	16.9	84.4	295.7
1962	680.0	18.1	89.2	253.1
1963	796.1	18.2	93.2	374.6
1964	778.8	22.2	93.8	307.4
1965	820.4	26.6	91.9	298.3
1966	756.3	124.5	94.8	303.7
1967	772.6	146.9	91.0	334.2
1968	816.1	122.9	91.2	307.0
1969	858.7	133.6	94.1	284.5
1970	867.7	146.5	91.2	314.0
1971	997.6	124.4	86.4	343.9
1972	1,048.1	125.9	87.9	413.3
1973	1,514.2	101.3	119.8	646.5
1974	1,475.3	7.9	131.1	385.0

Source: USDA, State Farm Income Statistics, 1975, p. 20.

much greater for crops. The proportional changes were largely due to the decreased proportion of income from meat animals (from 24.2%) and the increase in the proportionate value from marketings of soybean (from 14.3%).[37]

Table 8 shows the longitudinal picture of income from agriculture activity in Mississippi. During 1967 taxpayer awards to state farmers equalled some 18% of product sales.[38] Net farm income in Mississippi in 1974 was nearly 175% of net farm income in 1970; in 1975 it was circa 170% of the 1970 figure.

TABLE 9

MISSISSIPPI FARM INCOME AND VALUE OF HOME CONSUMPTION, 1974[38]

($1,000)

Cash Income	1,483,218
Earned Income	1,475,274
Crops	873,046
Livestock*	602,228
Government Awards	7,944
In-kind Consumtion Value	37,833
Crops	16,683
Livestock*	21,150
Total Value (cash and in-kind)	1,521,051

*Plus Products

Source: Agricultural Statistics, 1975, p. 463.

SUMMARY

Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of any State in the nation.[39] However, per capita income in Mississippi has been increasing in both relative and absolute terms. Increased per capita income comes about through population movement (out-movement of low income persons, or in-movement of higher income persons), adjustments in fertility , and non-spatial movement of individuals to higher paying positions.

Some 90% of the income of Mississippi families in 1970 was derived from earnings. Socail Security payments accounted for a higher percentage of cash income payments to poor white than to poor black families in Mississippi. Poor blacks derived a larger percentage of their total income from wages and salaries than did poor white families. Social Security transfers assumed increased significance for families with elderly household heads.

1. Charles H. Anderson, The Political Economy of Social Class, (Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 91-92.

2. Excluded from PCI in census calculations are receipts from the sale of personal property, capital gains, refunds, gifts, inheritances, insurance payments, and in-kind consumption. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1973 Population and 1972 Per Capita Income Estimates for Counties and Incorporated Places in Mississippi," Current Population Reports, P-25, No. 569 (June, 1975), pp. III-IV.

3. Guy T. Peden and Gaines M. Rogers, Mississippi Personal Income (State College: College of Business and Industry, Mississippi State University, 1972), p. 1.

4. Marshall R. Colberg, Human Capital in Southern Development, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965).

5. Low per capita income has generally been regarded, possibly with justification, as a bouche ouverte problematic. However, the attraction of high wage industry, often regarded as a causa sine qua non for improving conditions in Mississippi, is a poplarly proposed "solution" which may be more apparent than real when the questions of who benefits (indigenous labor or immigrants) and at what costs (escalated property values, etc.) are given appropriate weight. It is suggested that the questioning of the distribution of income is a far more important question from a quality-of-life and republican-access-to-opportunity perspective than is per capita income per se.

6. Clarence H. Danhof, "Four Decades of Thought in the South's Economic Problems," in Melvin Greenhut and W. Whitman (eds.), Essays in Economic Development (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 16. For discussion of the relationship between migration and employment generally, see C. E. Bishop, "Economic Aspects of Migration Grom Farms," in Labor Mobility and Population in Agriculture (Ames: Iowa State University, Center for Agriculture and Economic Adjustment, 1961), pp. 36-49. "The Determinants of Interstate Population Movement," Journal of Regional Science, 5 (1963), pp. 77-84; Audie L. Blevins and Buzzy Bavesi, "Socioeconomic Differences between Migrants and Nonmigrants," Rural Sociology, 36 (December, 1971), pp. 509-520; Cicero Blanco, "The Determinants of Interstate Population Movement," Journal of Regional Science, 5 (1963), pp. 77-84; William Diehl,"Farm Non-Farm Migration in the Southeast," Journal of Farm Economics, 48 (February, 1966), pp. 1-11.

7. W.H. Nichols, The South's Low Income Rural Problems and Rural Development Programs (Washington: National Planning Association, 1959); Southern Tradition and Regional Progress, (Chapel Hill: Univeristy of North Carolina Press, 1960), p. 12-13. For discussion of the relationship of migration patterns to county characteristics generally, see Gladys K. Bowles and S. Tarver, "The Composition of Net Migration Among Counties in the United States, 1950-1960," Agricultural Economics Research, 18 (Jan., 1966), pp. 13-19; James Brown," Population and Migration Changes in Appalachia," in John Photiadis and H.K. Schwarzweller, Changes in Rural Appalachia (Philadelphia: University of Pa. Press, 1971), pp. 23-49; J. Glynn, "Some Effects of Migration on Texas Counties, 1950-1960," Texas Health Bulletin (April, 1962), pp. 12-17; J.L. Charlton, "Migration and Change Among Arkansas Counties," Arkansas Farm Research 17 (March-April, 1968), p. 15; S. Davies and G. Fowler, "The Disadvantaged Urban Migrant in Indianapolis," Economic Geography, 48 (April, 1972), pp. 153-167; H.G. Kariel, "Selected Factors Really Associated with Population Growth Due to Net Migration," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 53 (June, 1963), pp. 210-223.

8. Among the reasons frequently cited for preference that jobs move to people rather than people moving to jobs are the effects of out-migration on property values (which may improve the relative opportunity cost for poor persons if prices decrease), on area retail sales, and on opportunities for local professional persons. Colberg, p. 17. For discussion of the effects of out-migration on communtities generally, see W.W. Bauder, Analysis of Trends in Population, Population Characterisitcs and Community Life in Southern Iowa (Ames: Iowa State University, College of Agriculture, 1959); The Impact of Population Change on Rural Community Life: The Economic System (Ames: Iowa State University, Cooperative Extension Service, 1962); W.W. Bauder and W.F. Kenkel, Effects of Migration on the Open-Country Population of Iowa, 1950-1961 (Ames: Iowa State University AES, Research Bulletin 336, 1965); O.B. Durgin, Population of New Hampshire: Effects of Migration on the Small New Hampshire Town (Durham: University of New Hampshire AES Bulletin 437, 1957).

9. Daniel O. Price, Rural-Urban Migration and Poverty, (Washington: Office of Economic Opportunity, 1971), p. 58.

10. Rupert Vance, All These People, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945), p. 478.

11. Jonathan Daniels, "Men at the Corner," Virginia Quarterly Review, 31 (1955), p. 222.

12. Wilson Gee, "The Drug of Talent Out of the South," Social Forces, 18 (October, 1939), pp. 41-47; Howard Odom, Southern Regions of the United States, (Chapel Hill: University of

North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 471. Perhaps the better view was that of Beers and Heflin, who contended that out-migration should be encouraged as one means of alleviating population pressure. Howard Beers and Catherine P. Heflin, People and Resources in Eastern Kentucky (Lexington: University of Kentucky AES Bulletin 500, 1947). Cf.: Charles K. Fairchild, "Transfer of Population from Rural to Urban Areas: Rural Disadvantaged Mobility," Labor Law Journal, 20 (August, 1969), pp. 461-473; B. Scher, "The War on Poverty in West Virginia," Journal of Socialwork, (1967), pp. 53-68.

13. Colberg, p. 17.

14. Price, p. 2. For discussion of factors "allowing" or perhaps compelling reduction of the farm population generally, see Calvin L. Beale, "Rural Depopulation in the United States: Some Demographic Consequences of Agricultural Adjustments," Demography, (1964), pp. 264-272; V.L. Christensen and A. Pepelasis, "Agricultural Displacement and Surplus Labor in the South," Review of Regional Studies, 2 (1971), pp. 65-81; Agricultural Displacemnet and Surplus Labor in the South," Review of Regional Studies, 2 (1971), pp. 68-81.

15. Day, who tested an economic model of production, investment, and technological change on 1940-1960 Mississippi census data, found support for a theory of a "two-stage push off the farm." The first stage occurs when sharecroppers are forced into nearby villages which provides proximity to agricultural employment in peak employment seasons. The second stage push occurs when mechanization destroys the need for workers during harvest times. Day observed a shift of people from rural-farm to rural-nonfarm status, from sharecropper to wage-worker status, and a shift of rural-nonfarm groups to urban areas through migration or declines in the populations of regions as a whole. R.H. Day, "The Economics of Technological Change and the Demise of the Sharecropper," Amercian Economic Review, 57 (June, 1967), pp. 427-449.

16. Price, p. 69 Cf.: Roger Bearwood, "The Southern Roots of Urban Crisis," Fortone (August, 1968), pp. 80-87, 151-156. Fuller has observed that "push" forces (the major causes of off-farm migration are stated to be the technological advance fostered by the Morrill Act of 1862 and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914) have not been matched by "pull" forces in the nonfarm economy to absorb the ex-farm population. Varden Fuller, Rural Worker Adjustment to Urban Life: An Assessment of the Research (Ann Arbor: Univeristy of Michigan, Policy Papers in Human Resources and Industrial Relations, No. 15, 1970). For discussion of the effect of agricultural price and production policies in the dispersal of agriculture labor, see E.L. Baum and E.O. Heady, "Some Effects of Selected Policy Programs on

Agriculture Labor Mobility in the South," Southern Economic Journal, 25 (January, 1959), pp. 327-337.

17. Donald Schon, "Assimilation of Migrants into Urban Centers," in President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, Rural Poverty in the United States, (Washington: USPGO, 1968), pp. 267-287.

18. For discussion of poverty and migration in general see A. Lee, "New Views on Migration and Poverty." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Toronto, 1972; "Regional, Environmental, and Return Migration, and their Relation to Poverty." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Baton Rouge, 1972; E. Lee, "Relationships of Migration to Rural Poverty," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Denver, 1971; P. Koshel, Migration and the Poor (Washington: OEO, Office of Planning, Research, and Evaluation, 1972); F. Leuthold et al , Migration of Young Adults From a Low-Income Rural County (Knoxville: Univ. of Tenn. AES Progress Report 63, 1967); Daniel O. Price and Melanie M. Sikes, "Rural-Urban Migration and Poverty." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Denver, 1971; P.N. Richey, "Poverty Among Rural-Urban Migrants to Metropolitan Areas." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Washington, 1970.

19. Price, p. 59; A.L. Bacon, "Poverty Among Interregional Rural to Urban Migrants." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Washington, D.C. (August 26-30, 1970). For discussion of steps which have been recommended as aids to out-migration, see E.L. Baum and E.O. Heady, "Some Effects of Selected Policy Programs on Agricultural Labor Mobility in the South," Southern Economic Journal, 25 (January, 1959), pp. 327-337. Cf.: D.G. Johnson, "Policies to Improve the Labor Transfer Process," American Economic Review, 50 (May, 1960), pp. 403-418; "Policies and Procedures to Facilitate Desirable Shifts of Manpower," Journal of Farm Economics (November, 1951), pp. 722-729.

20. Morrison has pointed out that bringing new industry into a lagging area which disproportionately attracts better skilled and return migrants leaves the original nonmigrants in the area in essentially the same employment position. Peter A. Morrison, Future Urban Growth and Policies for Coping with Local Decline (Santa Monica: Rand Corp., P-4801, 1972).

21. Colberg, p. 122.

22. One is reminded of Robert Frost's trenchant remark: "What some people call 'exploitation,' I call employment." Quoted in Peter Stanliss, "Robert Frost: The Individual and So-

ciety," Intercollegiate Review, 8 (Summer, 1973), p. 227.

23. Thomas Till, Rural Industrialization and Southern Rural Poverty: Pattern of Labor Demand in Southern Nonmetropolitan Labor Markets and Their Impact on Local Poverty, (Austin: Center for the Study of Human Resources, University of Texas, 1972), pp. 25-28. Boone and Kurland have observed that the Area Redevelopment Act (ARA) made investment loans primarily to "outsiders", particularly entrepeneurs who were induced by Government subsidized capital loans to locate in areas which were nonunionized and/or in which industry was not expected to carry a reasonable share of the tax load. As a result, many new industries created jobs mainly for outsiders with considerable training, while hardly affecting the poor whose presence formed the basis for ARA eligibility. R.W. Boone and N. Kurland, "A Look at Rural Poverty," New Generation, 50 (Summer, 1968), pp. 2-5. Hansen has been particularly critical of government policies which sought to stop out-migration by attracting industry to lagging areas as "place" rather than "people" oriented. Niles M. Hansen, "Migration Centers, Growth Centers and the Regional Commissions," Southern Economics Journal, 38 (April, 1972), pp. 508-517, and Niles M. Hansen and Richard Yukhin, Locational Preferences and Opportunity Costs in a Lagging Region (Lexington: University of Kentucky, EDA Discussion Paper No. 17, 1969).

24. G.S. Tolley and H.W. Hgort, "Age-Mobility and Southern Farmer Skill: Looking Ahead for Area Redevelopments," Journal of Farm Economics, 45 (February, 1963) pp. 31-46. The minority report pointed out that the Act proposed "to start a number of new federal grant programs at a time when the federal government is in no position to grant anything but a share of a $39 billion deficit" at "a time when this nation is facing one of the most severe financial pinches in history." Rep. John Dow objected to provisions to provide grants up to $50,000,000 annually for pollution abatement and control projects, which he felt was a reward for creating objectionable conditions of pollution. United States Code Congressional and Administrative News (92nd Congress - Second Session, 1972), pp. 3173-3176.

25. The Rural Development Act of 1972 provided that rural development research should be action-oriented. For an inventory of rural development research being done at land-grant colleges in the South, see the Southern Rural Development Center publication, Rural Development Research at Land-Grant Institutions in the South (Box 5406, Mississippi State, MS 39762).Cf.: Carrie G. Parker, et al , A Bibliography of Rural Development (Clemson: Clemson University Department of Agricultural Economics, South Carolina AES, AE 391, 1976).

26. Opinion based on the stated purpose of P.L. 92-419, USCA, pp. 3147 ff.

27. E. Grant Youmans, "The Rural Aged," Annals, 429 (Jan., 1977) p. 86.

28. Ibid.

29. Mary Jo Grinstead, Bernal L. Green, and J. Martin Redfern, Rural Development and Labor Adjustment in the Mississippi Delta and Ozarks of Arkansas (Fayetteville, Ark. : Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 795, 1975). A five-year longitudinal study in rural Illinois offers evidence of the negative impact of industrialization upon the economic well-being of the elderly in the area studied. The hypothesis examined in the study was that the "industrial development of small communities is directly associated with a decline in the relative economic status of the elderly residents of the communities." The hypothesis was subjected to empirical tests in what the authors called a "natural experiment." Two communities of comparable social, demographic, and economic characteristics were selected. One community, designated the "experimental" area, had witnessed the construction of a heavily capitalized, ultra-modern cold rolling mill in the five-year period. The second community, the "control" area, had not experienced industrial development. Frank Clemente and Gene F. Summer, "Industrial Development and the Elderly: A Longitudinal Analysis," Journal of Gerontology, 28 (1973), pp. 479-83.

30. Colberg, p. 17.

31. See citations in footnote 23 above. Cf.: Peter Morrison, Urban Growth, New Cities and the "Population Problem." (Santa Monica: Rand Corp. P-4515, 1970), and Niles M. Hansen, "Regional Development and the Rural Poor," Journal of Human Resources, 4 (Spring, 1969), pp. 205-214. For statement of the deficiencies of out-migration as a solution to area labor problems see John B. Parr, "Out-migration and the Depressed Area Problem." Land Economics, 42 (May, 1966), pp. 149-159. Bearwood, in a seminal analysis of the effect of migration, points out that black movers to urban areas are leaving "sizable concentrations of illiterate and sick people, and of the old and the very young; many children are left with grandparents. The author contends that the out-movement of prime working-age persons makes the region less attractive to corporations planning new plants. Roger Bearwood, "The Southern Roots of Urban Crisis," Fortune (August, 1968), pp. 80-87, 151-156.

32. Peter Morrison, " The Rationale for a Policy on Population Distribution (Santa Monica: Rand Corp., 1970). Some observers have argued that out-migrants represent "investment losses." Selz C. Mayo, "Communities With Stationary Population," in Family Mobility in our Dynamic Society (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1965), 133-148. Bryant and Wilber, presumably assuming such migrants would have been employed,

claimed out-migration "cost" Mississippi $700 million per year. Ellen Bryant and George L. Wilber, Net Migration In Mississippi 1950 - 1960 (State College, Ms.: MAES Bulletin 632, 1961).

33. Peter Morrison, The Impact and Significance of Rural-Urban Migration in the United States (Santa Monica: Rand Corp., P-4752,1972).

34. Era Mueller and Jean Lean, "The Case Against Migration," New Generation, 50 (Summer, 1968), pp. 7-8. Cf.: Eva Mueller and Nancy Barth, Migration Into and Out of Depressed Areas (Washington: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Area Redevelopment Administration, 1964).

35. Inabel Lindsay "The Multiple Hazards of Age and Race: The Situational of Aged Blacks in the United States," in Preliminary Survey for the Committee on Aging, U.S. Senate, (September, 1971), p. 2.

36. Current Population Reports, "Characteristics of the Low-Income Population: 1973," Series P-60, No. 98, (January, 1975), pp. 9-10.

37. USDA, State Farm Income Statistics 1975, p. 62.

38. By contrast, in 1969 the total cash income from farming in Mississippi (earned and government awards) was $940,857,000. Of this only $807,246,000 was earned, and $133,611,000 represented government payments. USDA, Agricultural Statistics, 1970 (Washington: USGPO, 1970, p. 475). In 1971, government gifts to farmers qua farm possession ($146,500,000) factored into a total cash income of $1,058,311,000 for Mississippi farm entrepeneurs. USDA, Agricultural Statistics, 1971 (Washington: USGPO, 1971), p. 489. In 1975, Mississippi farmers received over $20 million in government payments. As remarkable as this may seem, it represents a tremendous improvement over the seven times greater figure Mississippi farmers were receiving through government payments earlier in the decade. Nevertheless, the size of government payments in Mississippi in 1975 was exceeded only by Illinois and the seven West North Central States. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976, p. 648.

39. Even so, in 1976 the percentage increase in Mississippi's per capita income was the nation's third highest; however, the actual dollar gap between per capita income in Mississippi and the national average increased somewhat. E. Nolan Waller, "A Note on Mississippi's 1976 Income," Mississippi's Business, 35 (June, 1977), p. 4.

CHAPTER 7

POVERTY, OCCUPATION, AND EMPLOYMENT

Employment is one of the most important of all poverty related characteristics. It is their jobs that provide most of the income for the majority of working Americans. Where this income is sufficient, there is no poverty. A social structure that is characterized by unemployment among those ready, capable, willing, and interested in working is one that will virtually guarantee poverty to those who cannot locate jobs. Vatter has asserted that "...most of the poor remain poor because access to income through work is currently beyond their reach. The unskilled, middle-aged and unemployed laborer is helpless in the face of unemployment."[1]

Effects of Unemployment

In the 1970s unemployment in the United States reached into the most skilled vocations and professions in which there had been a recent history of an employee market (engineering and higher education are ready examples), not to mention persons marginal to the labor market. In periods of high unemployment which reaches categories not traditionally marginal to the labor market, three of its consequences cause poverty:

1. Persons unemployed for long periods may drop into poverty.
2. Persons who are forced to settle for part-time or marginal work if they can get it may drop into poverty.
3. People who in a full-unemployment economy would have high productivity jobs but who can only obtain low-productivity jobs may also drop into poverty.[2]

In addition, the chances for persons who are already in poverty to escape poverty through acquiring economic independence by their activities in the labor market are severely curtailed.

The effects of low employment are not only reflected in the loss of personal and family labor income, but in a wide range of undesirable social costs. A substantial portion of unemployed workers will see the range of their opportunities and choices curtailed or eliminated, with the result that they are pushed further into a state of poverty. Personal pathologies, from marital discord and familial disruption to pathological psychological states (from depressed outlook to heightened aggressiveness, anxiety, and alienation) may come to characterize increased numbers of individuals. Such pathologies may be reflected in various social indicators ranging from those on divorce proceedings to the criminal or suicidal.

A reduction in public revenues and expenditures for public services and common goods is likely to follow in consequence. In addition to the services that would otherwise be rendered, the public sector is not able to absorb as many performers in service dispensing positions as it could have done otherwise, thus swelling the number of the unemployed and reducing the demand for private production due to the loss of sales in the private sector which the large public payroll would generate.[3] As average marginal costs of production increase, production below capacity is likely to spread throughout the economy. The process of curtailing production becomes cumulative. Younger and older workers, women, and members of minority groups see their chances of useful employment reduced, and the opportunities to enter new fields are effectively closed.[4]

There is no getting around the fact that conditions which allow for maximum employment for those willing, capable, and desirous of working at wage-price-taxation levels which allow wage earners and their families to exist above the poverty level is a first preventive of as well as a first defense against poverty. In addition, such an environment is required in order to support the maximum delivery of social services and income transfers to those persons who, because of lack of skill or ability or because of mental, physical, or cultural incapacity, could not improve their economic status by paid employment even in an era of generally optimistic work potential for most persons desiring paid employment.

However, it needs to be recognized that employment itself does not guarantee an adequate income. A significant proportion of the poor are not poor because they are disabled, female heads of families, or unemployed. They are poor because they are employed at wages inadequate to raise them above the poverty line or because they are only irregularly employed.[5]

Far reaching alterations have taken place in the Mississippi economy in the past several decades. These changes have been reflected in new demands and opportunities for certain occupations and skills, while the demand for others has declined. The spread of supermarkets and similar establishments in the trade industry, organizational changes in commercial enterprises, and technological changes in agriculture and manufacturing, have brought about declines in some areas and increased employment in other activities. This chapter focuses on the magnitude and impact of these changes on the State's labor force and occupational patterns.

MISSISSIPPI'S LABOR FORCE

The definition of the labor force in current use in those persons 16 years[6] of age and older who either work as paid employees or in their own business or work 15 hours or more as unpaid workers in a family farm

TABLE 1

LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGES FOR SPECIFIED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1970

	1950		1960		1970		1950 to 1970 Change		1960 to 1970 Change	
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total Labor Force	756,896	51.1%	742,604	51.6%	786,096	50.1%	29,200	3.9%	43,492	5.9%
Armed Forces	14,069	.9	20,981	1.5	23,008	1.5	8,939	63.5	2,027	9.7
Civilian Labor Force	742,827	50.2	721,623	50.1	763,088	48.7	20,261	2.7	41,465	5.7
Employed	716,851	48.4	682,339	47.4	724,699	46.2	7,848	1.1	42,360	6.2
Unemployed	25,976	1.8	39,284	2.7	38,373	2.5	12,397	47.7	- 911	- 2.3
Not in the Labor Force	724,194	48.9	696,869	48.4	781,865	49.9	57,671	8.0	84,996	12.2
Inmate of Institution	11,954	.8	14,485	1.0	15,087	1.0	3,133	26.2	602	4.2
Enrolled in School	182,130	12.3	172,303	12.0	131,781	8.4	- 50,349	-27.6	- 40,522	-23.5
Other										
Under 65 years old	517,388	34.9	362,879	25.2	355,654	22.7	-161,734	-31.2	- 7,225	- 2.0
65 years and over	12,722	.9	147,202	10.2	181,076	11.5	168,354	723.3	33,874	23.0
14 and 15 years old	NA		NA		98,276	6.3	NA		NA	
Male Labor Force	569,394	38.4	497,645	34.6	485,209	1.0	- 84,185	-14.8	- 12,436	- 2.5
Civilian Labor Force	555,644	37.5	476,894	33.1	462,910	29.5	92,734	16.7	- 13,984	- 2.9
Employed	538,692	36.4	453,026	31.4	443,659	28.3	- 95,033	-17.6	- 9,367	2.1
Unemployed	16,952	1.1	23,868	1.7	19,235	1.2	2,283	13.5	- 4,633	-19.4
Not in Labor Force	154,128	10.4	195,823	13.6	259,404	16.5	105,276	3.4	63,851	32.5
Female Labor Force	187,502	12.7	244,959	17.0	300,887	19.2	113,385	60.5	55,928	22.8
Civilian Labor Force	187,183	12.6	244,729	17.0	300,178	19.1	112,995	60.4	55,449	22.7
Employed	178,159	12.0	229,313	15.9	281,040	17.9	102,881	1.6	51,727	22.6
Unemployed	9,024	.6	15,416	1.1	19,139	1.2	10,114	112.1	3,722	24.1
Not in Labor Force	570,066	38.5	501,046	34.8	522,461	33.3	- 47,605	- 8.4	21,415	4.3
Total Population Age 14 and Over	1,481,090	100.0%	1,439,473	100.0%	1,567,961	100.0%	86,871	5.9%	128,488	8.9%

Source: Jackson City Planning Board, Economic Analysis: Jackson Metropolitan Area (May, 1972), p. 52.

or business plus those "unemployed" who were available to accept a job and had been looking for work during the past few weeks.[7]

Table 1 shows the changes in the Mississippi labor force for the decennial periods 1950-1960 and 1960-1970. Between 1960 and 1970 the labor force increased by 5.9% (Table 1). This represents a slight decrease in the male labor force (-2.5%) and a large increase in the female labor force (22.8%).

The decrease in the number of males in the labor force in Mississippi in the 1960s was totally accounted for by the large decrease in nonwhite males (-24.3) during this decade. At the same time, the increase in the female labor force was almost entirely due to the increase (39.5%) in white workers (Table 2).

TABLE 2

SIZE OF LABOR FORCE, BY RACE AND SEX OF MEMBERS
MISSISSIPPI, 1960 AND 1970

	MALE			FEMALE		
	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1960	497,645	326,277	171,368	244,959	144,364	100,595
1970	485,209	355,568	129,641	300,887	201,395	99,492
Change	-12,436	39,291	-41,727	55,928	57,031	1,103
% Change	-2.5	9.0	-24.3	22.8	39.5	1.1

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

The proportion of the population in the official labor force in Mississippi remained about the same (slightly over 50% of those of eligible age) in 1950, 1960, and 1970. The proportion of the age eligible population not in the labor force decreased from 34.9% in 1950 to 22.7% in 1970. At the same time, there was a dramatic rise in the number of aged Mississippians who had withdrawn from the labor force.

Poverty and Labor Force Participation

A considerably higher proportion of poor than all income families were headed by persons who were not members of the labor force (Table 3). The difference is particularly noticeable for families headed by males. In 19.9% of all income families in Mississippi in 1970 headed by a male, the head was not a member of the labor force. For poverty families, 44.5% of the male heads were not members of the labor force.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILY HEADS WHO ARE NOT IN THE LABOR FORCE ALL INCOME AND POVERTY FAMILIES, BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	PERCENT NOT IN LABOR FORCE	
	ALL INCOME FAMILIES	POVERTY FAMILIES
TOTAL		
Total	23.9	48.2
Male Headed	19.9	44.5
Female Heaced	49.9	58.5
WHITE		
Total	19.9	54.5
Male Headed	17.3	51.8
Female Headed	47.5	66.7
BLACK		
Total	33.4	44.4
Male Headed	27.3	38.9
Female Headed	51.7	55.6

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970

Illustrative Interpretation: In 23.9% of all income families the family head was not a member of the labor force; the family head was not a member of the labor force in 48.2% of the poor families.

For all income families, a larger percentage of white than black family heads were not in the labor force. Among poverty families, however, a larger percentage of black than white family heads were not in the labor force. The smaller proportion of heads not in the labor force among black poverty families indicates that a somewhat larger proportion of both males and female headed families among poor blacks are found among the "working poor." Of those not in the labor force, a higher percentage of black than whites were poor.

Table 4 provides a breakdown of family heads in the labor force by age for all income and poor families in Mississippi in 1970. A somewhat large proportion of the heads of all income than poor families were in the labor force for all age levels for both males and females. There is a significant decline in labor force membership after age 65 for heads of both sexes. The causal factor cannot be determined from this data as to the proportion of older workers who have withdrawn from the labor force by choice or satisfactory retirement provisions and those who have withdrawn because of prejudice toward and discrimination against older workers. It has been suggested that labor force participation among older persons would be much greater if they were not discouraged from participation in the job market.

TABLE 4

PERCENT OF FAMILY HEADS IN LABOR FORCE

	MALE		FEMALE	
	ALL INCOME	POOR	ALL INCOME	POOR
Under 25	92.0	81.3	57.2	49.2
25-64	89.7	73.4	61.1	40.9
65 and over	26.4	13.7	12.3	6.1
Related Children Under 6	--	--	53.6	49.0

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

While the prejudice against men is severe, it is possible that the constraints against middle age and older women are even greater. Robinson has noted that "one of the biggest problems older women face is combating the accepted stereotype of the woman after 50 as a dull, sexless, mentally and physically dead end kind of human being."[8] Re-entry of older women (which for employees seems to be age 35) into the labor force is hindered by derogatory stereotypes and other imposed social and psychological limitations.

EMPLOYMENT IN MISSISSIPPI

The number of employed persons in Mississippi increased by nearly 37,000 persons between 1950 and 1970 (Table 5). A 61.4% increase was made among professional and technical workers, while the number of clerical and kindred workers rose by 58.8%.

The number of Mississippians employed as farmers and farm managers declined by 71.4% in the 1960s, farm laborers and formen by 60.4% and private household workers by 38.1%. The number of laborers decreased slightly (-1.1%), particularly in manufacturing (-17.6%). Although the number of managers and administration rose by 12.4%, this was accomplished by a 50.7% increase in salaried persons and a decline of 31.4% in self-employed managers and administrators.

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS, MISSISSIPPI, 1950, 1960, 1970, AND CHANGE, 1960 - 1970

	1950		1960		1970		1950 to 1970 Change		1960 to 1970 Change	
	Number of Persons	Percentage of Total	Number of Persons	Percentage of Total	Number of Persons	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	41,335	5.7%	54,516	8.0%	87,969	12.3%	46,634	128.1%	33,453	61.4%
Engineers	2,376	0.3	3,015	0.4	5,644	0.8	3,268	137.5	2,629	87.2
Medical and Health	6,759	0.9	9,267	1.4	13,302	1.9	6,543	96.8	4,035	43.5
Teachers: Elementary and Secondary	14,856	2.1	17,729	2.6	28,921	4.0	14,065	94.7	11,192	63.1
All Other Professional Workers	17,344	2.4	24,505	3.6	40,102	5.6	22,758	131.2	15,597	63.6
Managers and Administrators	43,750	6.1	51,244	7.6	57,580	8.0	13,830	31.6	6,336	12.4
Salaried	19,771	2.8	27,336	4.1	41,191	5.7	21,420	108.3	13,855	50.7
Self Employed	23,979	3.3	23,908	3.5	16,389	2.3	- 7,590	- 31.7	- 7,519	- 31.4
Sales Workers	32,779	4.6	36,801	5.4	41,962	5.8	9,183	28.0	5,161	14.0
Retail Trade	23,571	3.3	24,353	3.6	26,165	3.6	2,594	11.0	1,812	7.4
Other than Retail Trade	9,208	1.3	12,448	1.8	15,797	2.2	6,589	71.6	3,349	26.9
Clerical and Kindred Workers	38,711	5.4	56,763	8.3	90,157	12.5	51,446	132.9	33,394	58.8
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers	53,683	7.5	70,704	10.4	98,191	13.7	44,508	82.9	27,487	38.9
Mechanics and Repairmen	12,749	1.7	18,683	2.7	22,585	3.1	9,836	77.2	3,902	20.9
Metal Craftsmen, Except Mechanics	3,263	0.5	4,417	0.6	6,260	0.9	2,997	91.8	1,843	41.7
Construction Craftsmen	23,433	3.3	27,343	4.1	32,557	4.5	9,124	38.9	5,214	19.1
Other Craftsmen and Foremen	14,238	2.0	20,261	3.0	36,789	5.2	22,551	158.4	16,528	81.6
Operatives, Except Transport	60,019	8.4	91,333	13.4	121,611	16.9	61,592	102.6	30,278	33.2
Durable Goods Manufacturing	NA	-	23,162	3.4	41,093	5.7	-	-	17,931	77.4
Nondurable Goods Manufacturing	NA	-	40,360	5.9	53,660	7.5	-	-	13,300	33.0
Nonmanufacturing Industries	NA	-	27,811	4.1	26,858	3.7	-	-	- 953	- 3.4
Transportation Equipment Operatives	25,003	3.5	28,715	4.2	33,425	4.6	8,422	33.7	4,710	16.4
Laborers, Except Farm	47,106	6.6	42,254	6.1	41,796	5.8	- 5,310	- 11.3	- 458	- 1.1
Construction	NA	-	8,516	1.2	8,643	1.2	-	-	127	1.5
Manufacturing	NA	-	15,925	2.3	13,124	1.8	-	-	- 2,801	- 17.6
Other Industries	NA	-	17,813	2.6	20,029	2.8	-	-	2,216	12.4
Service Workers, Except Private Household	35,950	5.0	47,873	7.0	70,299	9.8	34,349	95.5	22,426	46.8
Food Service Workers	11,879	1.7	15,374	2.2	20,438	2.8	8,559	72.1	5,064	32.9
Protective Service Workers	3,636	0.5	4,517	0.7	6,875	1.0	3,239	89.1	2,358	52.2
Other Service Workers	20,435	2.8	27,982	4.1	42,986	6.0	22,551	110.4	15,004	53.6
Private Household Workers	33,219	4.6	47,892	7.0	29,640	4.1	- 3,579	- 10.8	- 18,252	- 38.1
Farmers and Farm Managers	206,072	28.8	72,426	10.6	20,697	2.9	-185,375	- 90.0	- 51,729	- 71.4
Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	88,791	12.4	64,731	9.5	25,621	3.6	- 63,170	- 71.1	- 39,110	- 60.4
Occupation Not Reported	9,864	1.4	17,087	2.5	NA	-	7,223	73.2	-	-
Total Employed	716,282	100.0%	682,339	100.0%	718,948	100.0%	2,666	0.4%	36,609	5.4%

Source: Same as Table 1, p. 67.

Table 6 presents employment data for 1950-1970 by industrial sector. Between 1960 and 1970 the number of persons employed in educational services in Mississippi increased 27,000 out of a net increase of 37,000 employed persons. There was a decline of 92,500 persons employed in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries and a decrease of nearly 23,000 employed as private household workers. During this interval the number of Mississippians employed in manufacturing increased by a total of 55,000, of which 36,000 was in durable and 19,000 in non-durable goods.

Among the 38 sectors for which information is presented (Table 6), over 30 experienced increases between 1960 and 1970 greater than the total employment change (5.4%) during this time. Numerical increases in excess of 5,000 persons occurred in the following industries: construction, metal industries, manufacturing, electrical and non-electrical machinery manufacturing, transportation equipment manufacturing, textiles and fabricated products, other nondurable goods, wholesale trade, other retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate, hospitals, and public administration.

Occupational Mix of Employment in Industrial Sectors

Technological and organizational changes in industry are reflected in the shifts in Mississippi's occupational pattern. The continuous decline in the proportion of laborers in manufacturing at each decennial cenus since 1950 (from 25% in 1950 to 8.1% in 1970) and the increase in the proportion of craftsmen (from 10.1% to 17.1%) and professional, technical, and kindred workers (1.6% to 4.2%) illustrates presumed technological changes in this sector. In trade, the steady decline of managers, officials and proprietors coupled with the increase in clerical workers indicates the organizational changes rooted in the growth of supermarkets and other large-scale retail outlets (Table 7).

Changes in production methods, in organization, in technology, or the adoption of mechanization may stimulate expansion or contraction in particular occupations. Mechanization and the trend toward gigantic complexes in the agricultural sector, for example, resulted in a sharp increase in the percentage of laborers (from circa 30% to more than 50%), while the proportion of farmers and farm managers to total workers in agriculture decreased from over two-thirds to just over one-third.

The technological and organizational changes in the occupational mix of Mississippi workers is further reflected in the overall changes in the proportion of workers employed in specific occupation groups between 1950 and 1970. Largest increases were recorded for professional and clerical workers, both of whom increased by more than 100%. Craftsmen and operatives also made considerable gains, increasing by more than 80%. Sharp decreases occured among laborers and farmers and farm managers, with the latter decreasing by over two-thirds and the former by almost one-half.

TABLE 6

EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, AND CHANGES, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-70

	1950		1960		1970		1950 to 1970 Change		1960 to 1970 Change	
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total
Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	305,052	42.5%	146,278	21.4%	53,714	7.5%	-251,338	-82.4%	-92,564	-63.3%
Mining	3,617	0.5	5,969	0.9	7,462	1.0	3,845	106.3	1,493	25.0
Construction	36,455	5.1	44,849	6.6	53,770	7.5	17,315	47.5	8,921	19.9
Manufacturing	90,338	12.6	130,804	19.2	185,869	25.9	95,531	105.8	55,065	42.1
Durable Goods	48,274	6.7	60,928	9.0	97,054	13.5	58,360	20.8	36,126	59.3
Furniture and Lumber and Wood Products	41,453	5.7	34,197	5.0	36,663	5.1	4,790	11.6	2,466	7.2
Metal Industries	1,037	0.1	4,435	0.7	10,803	1.5	9,766	941.8	6,368	143.6
Machinery, Except Electrical	1,320	0.2	3,648	0.6	8,908	1.2	7,588	574.8	5,260	144.2
Electrical Machinery, Equipment and Supplies	460	0.1	4,923	0.7	11,008	1.5	10,548	2,293.0	6,085	123.6
Transportation Equipment	1,124	0.2	7,495	1.1	13,494	1.9	12,370	1,100.5	5,999	80.0
Other Durable Goods	2,880	0.4	6,230	0.9	16,178	2.3	13,298	461.7	9,948	159.7
Nondurable Goods	42,064	5.9	69,876	10.2	88,815	12.4	46,751	11.1	18,939	27.1
Food and Kindred Products	9,046	1.3	16,560	2.4	15,502	2.2	6,456	71.4	- 1,058	- 6.4
Textiles and Fabricated Textile Products	17,142	2.4	32,687	4.8	41,997	5.8	24,855	145.0	9,310	28.5
Printing, Publishing and Allied Industries	2,878	0.4	4,070	0.6	4,074	0.6	1,196	41.6	4	0.1
Chemicals and Allied Products	4,759	0.7	4,178	0.6	5,888	0.8	1,129	23.7	1,710	40.9
Other Nondurable Goods	8,239	1.1	12,381	1.8	21,354	3.0	13,115	159.2	8,973	72.5
Railway and Railroad Express Services	10,169	1.4	6,926	1.0	4,867	0.6	- 5,302	-52.1	- 2,059	-29.7
Trucking Service and Warehousing	4,504	0.6	7,305	1.1	9,044	1.3	4,540	100.8	1,739	23.8
Other Transportation	5,142	0.7	6,856	1.0	8,357	1.2	4,215	82.0	1,501	21.9
Communications	4,275	0.6	5,569	0.8	7,760	1.1	3,485	81.5	2,191	39.3
Utilities and Sanitary Service	6,674	0.9	8,598	1.3	12,834	1.8	6,160	92.3	4,236	49.3
Wholesale Trade	13,601	1.9	17,002	2.5	23,946	3.3	10,345	76.1	6,944	40.8
Food, Bakery and Dairy Stores	18,170	2.5	18,243	2.7	18,845	2.6	675	3.7	602	3.3
Eating and Drinking Places	15,439	2.2	15,275	2.2	14,676	2.0	- 763	- 4.9	- 599	- 3.9
Other Retail Trade	48,382	6.7	60,411	8.9	71,548	9.9	23,166	47.9	11,137	18.4
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	9,127	1.3	15,312	2.2	23,063	3.2	13,936	152.7	7,751	50.6
Business and Repair Services	11,134	1.6	11,435	1.7	15,018	2.1	3,884	34.9	3,583	31.3
Private Households	37,810	5.3	52,090	7.6	29,286	4.1	- 8,524	-22.5	-22,804	-43.8
Other Personal Services	19,265	2.7	21,[illegible]	3.1	24,497	3.4	5,232	27.2	3,017	14.0
Entertainment and Recreation Services	3,650	0.5	3,070	0.5	2,869	0.4	- 781	-21.4	- 201	- 6.5
Hospitals	11,926	1.7	13,204	1.9	22,844	3.2	10,918	91.5	9,640	73.0
Educational Services	26,186	3.7	35,997	5.3	62,179	8.6	35,993	137.5	27,182	72.7
Government	22,848	3.2	30,167	4.4	51,618	7.2	28,770	125.9	21,451	71.1
Private	3,338	0.5	5,830	0.9	10,561	1.4	7,223	216.4	4,731	81.1
Welfare, Religious and Nonprofit Organizations	NA		7,283	1.0	10,225	1.4	NA		2,942	40.4
Other Professional and Related Services	17,931	2.5	23,810	3.5	26,463	3.7	8,532	47.6	2,653	11.1
Public Administration	18,004	2.5	24,573	3.6	29,812	4.2	11,808	65.6	5,239	21.5
Total	716,851	100.0%	682,339	100.0%	718,948	100.0%	2,097	0.3%	36,609	5.4%

Source: Same as Table 1, p. 63.

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN SPECIFIED CATEGORIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1961-1970

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Cilivian Labor Force	757.3	756.5	763.7	767.4	773.6	788.5	793.1	801.5	816.5	828.1
Unemployment	60.4	49.2	47.3	43.7	43.7	33.0	33.0	37.8	34.0	39.7
Employment	696.9	707.3	716.4	723.5	736.9	755.5	755.3	765.3	782.0	787.7
Agricultural	175.1	167.3	157.2	147.1	133.8	119.2	109.2	105.4	103.7	102.3
Manufacturing	118.7	127.6	134.1	140.1	152.6	166.2	167.0	175.0	182.1	181.5
Durable Goods	50.0	55.6	62.0	67.2	76.8	85.7	84.5	88.7	94.4	93.5
Lumber and Wood Products	24.9	26.1	29.8	30.5	33.0	36.1	34.8	35.4	37.5	35.9
Metal Industries	4.2	5.3	5.9	6.8	7.8	8.7	9.0	9.9	10.6	10.6
Machinery	8.3	9.2	10.7	13.0	15.0	16.9	16.6	18.2	19.6	19.9
Transportation Equipment	5.9	7.6	7.5	8.1	10.6	12.1	12.5	13.5	14.2	15.2
Other Durable Goods	6.7	7.4	8.1	8.8	10.4	11.9	11.6	11.7	12.5	11.9
Nondurable Goods	68.7	72.3	72.0	73.1	75.8	80.5	82.4	86.3	87.5	87.8
Food and Kindred products	16.5	16.5	16.6	16.9	16.9	17.1	17.2	17.6	17.7	18.8
Apparel & Kindred products	28.1	30.9	32.9	32.6	34.5	37.4	37.8	38.5	38.6	38.4
Printing & Publish	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.0
Chemical & Allied Products	4.1	4.2	4.4	4.6	4.8	4.8	5.1	5.2	5.2	5.5
Other Goods	17.5	18.3	15.7	16.4	17.0	18.4	19.5	22.1	23.1	22.1
Mining	6.3	6.2	6.4	6.3	5.9	5.7	5.7	6.0	5.9	6.4
Construction	23.6	23.1	25.1	26.6	28.8	31.0	30.9	29.3	32.1	33.1
Trnsp., Comm., Utilities	25.0	25.4	25.9	26.5	26.8	27.1	27.8	28.5	29.6	30.0
Wholesale & Retail Trd.	83.7	85.0	87.5	90.2	92.7	971.	99.0	100.8	104.0	106.1
Finance, Ins. Real Est.	14.4	15.1	15.8	16.4	16.9	17.6	18.6	19.3	20.1	21.1
Svc. & Miscellaneous	159.4	163.2	167.2	170.9	174.2	177.2	176.6	175.8	176.4	176.3
Government	90.8	94.2	97.2	99.5	105.2	114.3	120.5	125.1	128.0	130.9

Source: Same as Table 1, p. 72.

Such a contrast represents the kind of economic development wherein substantial growth can take place without a significant reduction in the number of the poor. The primary result of economic growth that apportions agricultural income in larger and larger segments and among fewer and fewer persons with sufficient capitalization for investment in intensive technology is likely to be a shift from rural poverty to urban poverty. Massive technological development in Southern agriculture has displaced large quantities of low-skilled labor for the nonagricultural sector to absorb.[9]

It would appear that at the macro level the rural poor have been trapped by simultaneous structural change in both the agricultural and nonagricultural sectors of the economy. In the agricultural sector, "a politically biased government subsidy program has permitted the large commercial farmer to integrate new capital and new technology into his farming operations, thereby displacing large quantities of low-skilled workers."[10] At the same time, structural change in the nonagricultural sector constrained employment opportunities for low-skilled labor.[11] The number of laborers employed in Mississippi, for example, decreased by 49.8% between 1950 and 1970 (Table 7).

Table 8 shows farm employment in Mississippi 1959-1974. During 1964-1974 the total number of farm workers in Mississippi decreased by one-half, from 201,000 to 104,000 persons. Family workers decreased by nearly 50%, and hired farm workers by 62% during this period. Whereas hired workers constituted 29% of the total farmworkers in Mississippi in 1964, the proportion of hired farm workers in 1974 was 31%.

TABLE 8

FARM EMPLOYMENT, MISSISSIPPI, SPECIFIED YEARS

	TOTAL	FAMILY WORKERS (1,000 Persons)	HEAD WORKERS
1974	104	72	32
1973	109	81	28
1972	113	85	28
1971	125	93	32
1970	133	101	32
1969	130	101	32
1968	142	110	32
1967	138	106	32
1966	159	114	45
1965	179	124	55
1964	201	143	58
1959-1963	234	167	67

Source: USDA, Agricultural Statistics, various editions.

Nonagricultural employment in Mississippi increased by nearly 20% between 1969 and 1975, from 568 to 679 thousand persons. The biggest increase occured in transportation equipment manufacturing (81.7%). Major increases were also made in electrical and nonelectrical machine manufacturing (46.3% and 57.3% respectively). The biggest increase in nondurable goods manufacturing occured in printing, publishing, and allied activities (27.6%), while the largest nonagricultural increase occurred in finance, insurance and real estate (38%). Losses occurred in furniture and fixtures manufacturing (-14.5%), optical goods and miscellaneous manufacturing (-17.2%), and textile mill products (-14.9%). The largest nonagricultural employers in Mississippi in 1975 were government (147,000) and wholesale and retail trade (133,000)[12]

TABLE 9

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRIAL SECTOR, MISSISSIPPI, ANNUAL AVERAGE 1969 and JANUARY, 1975

INDUSTRIAL SECTOR	1969	1975	% CHANGE 1969-1975
Nonagricultural wage and salary	567.8	678.9	19.6
Manufacturing	182.1	205.4	12.8
Durable goods	94.5	113.9	20.5
Lumber and Wood Products	23.4	20.0	-14.5
Furniture and Fixtures	14.1	14.7	4.3
Stone, Clay, & Glass Products	6.1	6.6	8.2
Primary Metals and Fabricated Metal Products	10.6	12.0	13.2
Machinery except Electrical	7.5	11.8	57.3
Electrical Machinery	12.1	17.7	46.3
Transportation Equipment	14.2	25.8	81.7
Optical Goods & Micx. Mfg.	6.4	5.3	-17.2
Nondurable goods	87.6	91.5	4.4
Food and Kindred Products	17.7	19.9	12.4
Textile Mill Products	7.1	5.9	-16.9
Apparel & Other Finished Textile Products	38.6	39.0	1.0
Paper and Allied Products	7.1	7.2	---
Printing, Publishing & Allied	2.9	3.7	27.6
Chemical & Alled Products	5.2	6.1	17.3
Petroleum, Rubber, and Leather Products	8.9	9.7	9.0
Nonmanufacturing	385.7	473.5	22.8
Mining	5.9	6.4	8.4

Contract Construction	32.1	37.4	16.5
Transportation, Public Utilities	29.6	35.9	21.3
Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate	20.1	27.7	37.8
Service and Miscellaneous	65.9	86.2	30.8
Government	128.0	147.2	15.0
Public Education	53.2	66.5	13.7

Source: Computed from unpublished data, U.S. Department of Labor, Annual Manpower Reports Series.

Race and Employment

Table 10 looks at the racial mix of employed males in Mississippi in 1970. Whites accounted for 73.2% of total male employment, blacks for 26.8%. Blacks were underrepresented in the white collar occupations and overrepresented in operatives, labor, and service occupations. About 70% of total male employment as farm laborers in Mississippi in 1970 consisted of black laborers. Black laborers also accounted for more than half of the employment in non-farm labor. Disparities in the proportion of blacks in ratio to total employment is clear, notable, and distinct, with black males severely underrepresented in professional technical, managerial, administrative, sales, craftsmen, foremen, and farm operator jobs. The disparities are not quite as great among females, although a notable underrepresentation may be seen in managerial, sales, and clerical occupations.

TABLE 10

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED MALES BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL		PERCENT	
	NUMBER	PERCENT	WHITE	NONWHITE
TOTAL	443,659	100	73.2	26.8
Professional, Tech., Kindred	42,813	100	88.7	11.3
Managers (Non-Farm), Adm.	45,713	100	94.8	5.2
Sales Workers	24,861	100	96.3	3.7
Clerical & Kindred Workers	22,848	100	87.3	12.7
Craftsmen, Foremen	87,854	100	82.8	15.2
Operatives (Exc. Transpt.)	63,051	100	66.2	33.8
Transpt. Equip. Operatives	29,292	100	61.1	38.9
Laborers (Exc. Farm)	36,688	100	42.5	57.5
Farmers, Farm Mgrs.	18,442	100	78.3	21.7
Farm Laborers, Foremen	22,362	100	29.3	70.7
Service Workers (Ex. Hh.)	24,354	100	57.5	42.5
Private Household Workers	751	100	11.5	88.5

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

A much larger proportion of the white than black employed were in white collar occupations (professional, managerial, clerical, sales) in 1970 for both males and females. Over one-half of the black employed males (58%) were in manual occupations, compared to slightly under half (45%) of the employed whites. Examination of the job patterns within the manual occupations shows that whites have have a higher proportion of craftsmen and foremen, while a higher proportion of blacks are found among operatives and laborers. For black males, manual and service workers accounted for 75% of those employed, compared to just over 50% of white male employment. Service and manual jobs accounted for over two-thirds of the employment of black females in Mississippi in 1970, compared with one-third for white females (Table 11).

TABLE 11

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED WORKERS, BY RACE AND SEX,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	MALE		FEMALE	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
White Collar	38.5	9.2	57.5	22.0
Manual	45.5	58.0	23.8	18.3
Service	4.3	9.3	11.9	51.0
Agriculture	6.2	15.7	.7	1.4

Note: Total come to less than 100% since those employed persons whose occupation was not shown are not listed.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Poverty and Occupation

Table 12 shows the percentage of poverty among Mississippi families according to sex, race, and occupation of family head. For male heads, the proportion of poor ranged from under 10% for professional, technical and kindred workers, managers and administrators, sales workers, and clerical and kindred workers to over 50% for male heads employed as farm laborers and foremen, service workers, and private household workers.

The incidence of reported poverty is in sharp contrast according to the sex of family heads. The incidence of poverty is greater among blacks than whites for all occupational categories. Among male headed families, the lowest incidence of poverty for both whites (3.3%) and blacks (9.8%) was found among persons in professional, technical and kindred occupations.

TABLE 12

PERCENT INCIDENCE OF POVERTY OF FAMILY HEADS IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

OCCUPATION	State		White		Black	
	Male Heads	Fm Heads	Male Heads	Fm Heads	Male Heads	Female Heads
All occupations	16.6	46.0	8.1	20.7	44.0	69.3
Professional, Technical, Kindred	3.9	20.5	3.3	9.3	9.8	37.5
Managers, Administrators	5.0	18.3	4.3	13.3	18.6	39.7
Sales Workers	4.6	26.5	3.9	19.3	27.7	59.1
Clerical and Kindred	5.6	18.8	3.9	14.1	19.1	52.3
Craftsmen and Kindred	11.7	38.9*	7.2	24.0	36.0	61.3
Operatives (Except Transport)	17.5	38.9*	9.3	24.0	35.1	61.3
Transport Operatives	22.1	38.9*	11.2	24.0	40.5	61.3
Laborers (except farm)	36.4	51.0	19.9	34.8	46.9	62.7
Farmers, farm managers	32.6	55.5#	23.1	39.0	68.0	59.3
Farm laborers and foremen	65.4	55.5#	34.1	39.0	78.6	59.3
Service Workers	55.4	60.8	8.5	36.6	39.6	71.8
Private Household Wokers	55.9	81.1	12.2	47.0	60.6	82.4
Head Unemployed	40.1	77.2	21.2	44.5	65.6	87.0
Head not in labor force	54.6	68.0	42.7	47.4	76.3	83.1

*Craftsmen and kindred, operatives, and transport combined. Combinations made seperately for female heads for each racial category.

#Farm workers category inclusive for female heads.

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Among male heads of families employed as sale workers, the frequency of poverty was 28% for blacks in contrast to 4% for whites. The incidence of poverty among male headed families was over four times as great among blacks than whites for male heads employed as managers and administrators, clerical and kindred workers, and craftsmen. Irrespective of occupation, the incidence of reported poverty was greater among black citizens.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN MISSISSIPPI

Unemployment among persons who are able and desirous of working is a major obstacle to anti-poverty efforts. By the middle 1970s severe unemployment had come to characterize the national economy, with the American people caught in the incongruous dilemma of inflation and recession at the same time.[13] The official unemployment rate for the United States in October, 1975 was 8.6. The white unemployment rate (7.9) was less than the rate for nonwhites (14.2) and the rate for blue-collar workers (11.2) was considerably higher than the non-white rate (4.8). Unemployment in the construction industry was 17.9, and was 16.2 for non-farm laborers.

TABLE 13

CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE FROM PRIOR YEAR,
NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED, PERCENT CHANGE FROM PRIOR YEAR,
AND PERCENT OF LABOR FORCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970-1976

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Civilian Labor Force	765.1	779.5	835.2	875.7	908.1	917.8	943
% Change	---	1.9	7.2	4.6	3.7	1.1	2.7
Unemployed	39.2	40.6	34.5	33.9	41.2z	75.4	62.0
% Change	---	3.6	-14.3	-2.6	21.6	83.0	-17.8
% of Labor Force	5.1	5.2	4.2	3.9	4.5	8.2	6.6

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Annual Manpower Reports Series.

Although the effect of unemployment in Mississippi was probably not felt as greatly as it was in some more populous and industrious areas, its effects were felt by individual citizens as well as the social structure at large. In addition to the individual suffering,[14] the prospect of holdbacks in public sector services was a threatened consequence as the absence of increase in public revenues reflected the economic slow down.

Table 14 shows the number of employed and "effectively unemployed" (the number of unemployed plus those not in the labor force) for Mississippi at the most recent census. The number of effectively unemployed male family heads was almost the same for both blacks and whites (27,359 and 26,541 respectively) while the number of effectively employed female family heads was two and a half times greater among blacks than whites (18,821 compared to 7,400).

The labor force participation ratio (number employed divided by the total in the categories of unemployed plus not in the labor force) times one hundred was much greater among all income families than for poor families.

The highest labor force participation rate was among white male family heads of all income levels (414 males employed male heads to every 100 unemployed male heads) and the lowest among female heads of black families (64). For male headed families, there were 108 employed heads for each 100 effectively unemployed heads. Among white families, only female heads of poor families had labor force participation ratios of under 100 (more unemployed than employed), while female heads of all income (77) and poverty families (64) had ratios less than 100 (table 14).

TABLE 14

NUMBER EMPLOYED AND EFFECTIVELY UNEMPLOYED (UNEMPLOYED AND NOT IN LABOR FORCE), AND LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATIO, ALL INCOME AND POVERTY FAMILIES, BY RACE AND SEX OF FAMILY HEADS MISSISSIPPI, 1970

RACE AND SEX OF FAMILY HEAD	EMPLOYED		UNEMPLOYED AND NOT IN LABOR FORCE		LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATIO	
	ALL INCOME	POVERTY	ALL INCOME	POVERTY	ALL INCOME	POVERTY
TOTAL						
Male Headed	35,040	58,383	101,428	54,089	346	108
Female Headed	33,269	15,308	38,331	26,302	87	58
WHITE						
Male Headed	267,961	21,803	64,763	26,541	414	82
Female Headed	15,913	10,689	15.655	7,400	102	144
NEGRO						
Male Headed	82,418	36,294	36,408	27,359	226	133
Female Headed	17,315	11,998	22,554	18,821	77	64

[1] Labor Force participation ratio = $\frac{\text{Employed}}{\text{Not in labor force + unemployed (effectively unemployed)}}$ X 100

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative Interpretation: For all income families with a male head there were 346 employed male heads to every 100 unemployed male heads. For male headed poverty families, there were only 108 employed heads for 100 unemployed heads.

Table 15 shows the weeks worked in 1969 for civilian male heads of poverty families as a percentage of heads of all income families working the specified number of weeks. This table suggests that subemployment was a major factor in family poverty in Mississippi. For example, of all male civilian family heads who did not work in 1969, 68.5% re-

TABLE 15

PROPORTION OF POOR FAMILIES AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL FAMILY HEADS, BY OCCUPATION AND NUMBER OF WEEKS WORKED, 1969, CIVILIAN MALE FAMILY HEADS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

OCCUPATION	Did not work in 1969	Proportion of poor by specified weeks worked			
		26 wks. or less	27-39 weeks	40-49 weeks	50-52 weeks
All Occupations	68.5	43.6	39.0	28.7	10.8
Professional, Technical Kindred	59.1	18.7	6.0	5.3	2.7
Managers, Admin.	63.5	21.2	20.2	9.8	3.8
Sales Workers	48.1	16.0	17.7	6.5	3.2
Clerical and Kindred	53.5	24.3	16.5	11.4	3.6
Craftsmen & Kindred	70.0	38.3	26.4	18.0	7.4
Operatives (ex. transport)	71.2	42.6	35.3	24.5	13.1
Transport Operatives	71.3	39.9	43.3	32.9	15.6
Laborers (ex. farm)	75.3	62.5	52.2	44.3	26.2
Farmers, Farm mgrs.	70.3	44.1	52.0	45.0	26.4
Farm laborers & foremen	84.4	86.2	81.5	73.5	50.3
Service Workers	55.4	44.1	36.3	31.9	15.8
Private Household workers	100.0	64.5	49.2	36.1	59.2
Head Unemployed	69.1	58.3	46.1	37.9	19.9
Head not in labor force	59.3	49.8	40.4	39.1	25.5

Percentages refer to proportion of poor among civilian male family heads who worked the specified period of time in 1969. For example, of all civilian male family heads who gave farm laborer or foreman as their occupation who worked 27 - 39 weeks in 1969, 81.5% reported family incomes below the poverty level.

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

ported a family income below the poverty threshold, contrasted to 10.8% for those who were employed 50-52 weeks. The percentage of families in poverty as a proportion of all families whose head reported working specified periods of time decreased as length of work time increased.

Interpreting Unemployment

Guzzardi[15] feels that beyond the hard core unemployed--those who for reasons of physical, mental, or moral incapacity would not be employed in the most optimistic labor market--the Depression era image of people destitute, eager for work, asking only for a job--is scarcely an accurate description of most unemployment today. Guzzardi feels that the marketplace may well hold an unfulfilled job for most of the 7.5 million of the nation'a unemployed. Furthermore, about one-half of the unemployed are said to be people who quit or who have just entered or reentered the labor force. The composition of the labor force, new attitudes toward work, and buffers which shield the jobless from hardships are said to be blocking the flow of people to jobs.

> It is the clear judgement of our society that people who are unemployed must be shielded, at least in part, from unemployment's hardships. Toward the end of 1974, with unemployment on the rise, Congress extended unemployment benefits from thirty-nine to sixty-five weeks, and made the benefits available to some workers, such as farm workers, who were not previously covered. Some states raised supplementary payments for dependents as well. Other forms of public assistance, such as food stamps and aid to families with dependent children, are also sometimes available to the unemployed. These are humanitarian provisions, but they have the undesirable effect of keeping the unemployment rate high.[16]

In addition to the striking fact "unemployment, American style ...does not arise from a scarcity of jobs,"[17] perhaps one of the most serious aspects about current thinking on employment and unemployment is the tendency to conceive of current unemployment in the same sense as unemployment of forty years ago and become mesmerized by "the deceptive appeal of employment-by-government as a serious alternative to our kind of unemployment." Perhaps the most malicious infliction on teenagers, among whom unemployment is particularly high, is the minimum wage law which makes it impossible for persons to work for an amount appropriate to their market worth.[18] Some have pointed out that the public service jobs stratagem[19] is a euphemism unless "the new government worker's product equals the cost of hiring him.[20] If it does not, then the government has not put somebody to work--it has only taken someone who was unemployed and renamed him a government employee." Milton Friedman's ameliorative coup is for the government to label welfare recipients "civil servants assigned to home duty," thereby solving both welfare and unemployment problems in one move.

One of the paradoxical anamolies of contemporary unemployment and welfare is that unemployment may compete with acceptance of a job as a feasible economic decision. "The combination of foregone taxes and tax-free compensation sometimes add up to 90% or more of the income earned by work. Instances can be found in which family income is actually higher when the husband is unemployed for three months than when he goes on working the whole year."[21]

In most States unemployment compensation is financed by taxes on employees with the rates based on the ratio between benefits paid to a company's former employees and its average annual taxable payroll. As a general proposition the tax rates run between one percent (even if an employer never releases anyone) and 5 percent (no matter how many employees are laid off). After benefits paid to former employees exceed the 5 percent limit, an employer pays no penalty increase in taxes irrespective of how many persons it lays off. Some observers feel the result is that employers who make many layoffs are to some degree subsidized by those who do not.[22]

SUMMARY

Employment, one of the most significant poverty related characteristics, is one of the first preventatives of and defenseszagainst poverty. The proportion of Mississippi's population in the labor force remained about the same between 1950 and 1970. However, there were notable changes in the composition of the labor force. The incidence of poverty is greater for blacks than for whites in all occupational categories in Mississippi.

1. Ethel Vatter, "Income Maintenance in the 1970s," Journal of Home Economics, 63 (January, 1971), p. 21.

2. Alan B. Batchfelder, The Economics of Poverty, (New York: Wiley 1971), p. 96.

3. A particularly discouraging form of distortion occurs when those persons who do have public jobs, often citing the increased cost of living as justification for increases in their own wages, are able to negotiate higher wages which reflect the political clout they are able to assert rather than what their services carry in a market evaluation, thus throwing the spiral into ever widening circles as workers and consumers have to make up the added costs. The distortion takes two notable forms: 1) Decreased new employment in jobs because of the financial pinch, and 2) Increased compensation for public employees already on payrolls in a manner which contributes to the cost-of-living among the public which has to pay the increases. Not the least result of the increased cost-squeeze on activities in the private sector which generates the taxes to pay for the public services. One might venture to suggest that in public service activities (police services, garbage collection, medical service vocations, education, federal monopoly services, etc.) the key to determine whether wage increases are in order is whether or not there is waiting list of persons who desire employment at the going wages, not the wage which those employed necessarily desire to have.

4. K.W. Kapp, "Socio-Economic Effect of Low and High Unemployment," Annals, 418 (March, 1975), pp. 64-68.

5. Harry Bredemeier, "The Politics of the Poverty Cold War," Urban Affaris Quarterly, 3 (June, 1968), p. 16.

6. In contrast to prior censuses, where employment status data were presented for persons 14 years old and over, most of the 1970 census data relate to persons 16 years old and over. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, Detailed Characteristics, Final Report PCCI D26 Mississippi, Appendix, p. 14.

7. It may be argued that the official definition of the labor force and unemployment is poorly designed to reflect the size of the population available for work since cultural and normative assumptions about work developed as a consequence of the limited supply of jobs and the "job rationing ideology" influences many individuals to behave in ways that excludes their being classified as members of the labor market. Frank Forstenberg and Charles Thrall, "Counting the Jobless: Impact of Job Rationing on Unemployment," Annals, 418 (March, 1975), pp. 45-60.

8. Statement of Phyllis Robinson, Institute of Gerontology, Federal City College, before the subcommittee on Retirement Income and Employment, Economic Problems of Aging Women, (Washington: USPGO, 1975), p. 24.

9. Arthur M. Ford, *Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South*. (Cambridge: Vallinger Pub. Co., 1973).

10. *Ibid*., p. 90.

11. R.H. Day, "The Economics of Technological Change and the Demise of the Sharecropper," *American Economic Review*, 37 (June, 1967), pp. 427-449; H. Dillingham and D. Sly, "The Mechanical Cotton-Picker, Negro Migration and the Integration Movement," *Human Organization*, 25 (Winter, 1966), pp. 344-351.

12. M. Attar and John V.D. Saunders, "Mississippi Jobs," *Growth and Change*, 5 (October, 1974); Frank E. Cotton, "Recent Trends In Manufacturing Employment in Mississippi, 1940-1960," *Journal of Mississippi History*, 29 (February, 1967), pp. 28-42.

13. Historically, and rationally in terms of the market operation apart from tuneing assistance, shoring, and misallocation by political intervention, prices decline rather than increase in depression or recession periods. In the 1970s, by contrast, adjustments to the economy were such that the nation faced the threat of triple digit inflation. The combination of inflation and recession makes almost any discussion of inroads into poverty superflous. History has given abundant illustrative experience, the experience of Germany in this century being particularly apt, of the wholesale disruption of levels-of-living for masses of the public who are faced with the combination of rising costs and decreased earning opportunities. Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, *Studies in Price Stability and Economic Growth*, paper No. 1, *Inflation and the Consumer in 1974*, (Washinton: USPGO, 1975).

14. Linda Sanders, "People Tell State Unemployment Story," *The Clarion Ledger Jackson Daily News*, (January 11, 1976), p. F2.

15. Walter Guzzardi, "How to Deal With the New Unemployment," *Fortune* (October, 1976).

16. *Ibid*.

17. *Ibid*.

18. The minimum wage is particularly problematic for persons marginal to the labor market--the inexperienced, teenagers, women, youth, persons without productive skills which enables their employment at the minimum wage. Some of the human resource misallocation brought about by the imposition of the minimum

wage, from whatever source it may be motivated, are depicted in the following report.

The Jobless Young

Are Teen-Agers Idled By the $2.30 Pay Floor? Some Youths Think So

But Union Chiefs Want Rise To $3 Hourly Minimum, Fear a Split-Level Rate

In Danger: An Illegal Sitter

By ALFRED L. MALABRE JR.
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Betty Jackson has a message for the people in Washington who want to raise the nation's minimum wage:

Drop dead.

If you suspect that Betty Jackson is a profit-greedy employer of unskilled workers who toil in some sweatshop for $2.30 an hour—the minimum allowed by federal law—you are wrong. Plump, middle-aged, black, the mother of four ranging from 17 years of age down to 11, she employs no one. She is poor, and she herself is employed, at modest pay, as a social worker by Dade County, Fla. Her job is to try to find work for jobless teen-agers in a poverty-ridden area just north of Miami.

"It would be just awful for the kids if they (the federal authorities) raise the minimum wage again," the black woman says. "It's bad enough now, but if the floor goes up again, the kids simply won't ever get hired."

A New Attitude

A decade ago, people such as Betty Jackson, working closely with the poor and the unemployed, probably would have talked differently; the prospect of a sharply higher minimum wage would have been heartily welcomed. But no longer. Over the years, teen-age unemployment has mounted even faster than joblessness in general. And, increasingly, some people in the front line of the war against teen-age joblessness single out minimum-wage regulations as a major barrier.

Nevertheless, plans are afoot in both houses of Congress to raise the minimum wage to $3 an hour and to provide automatic living-cost adjustments. The AFL-CIO regards such legislation as a top-priority need that should, the federation says, "benefit the entire economy by generating additional purchasing power and additional jobs." That view is strongly endorsed by F. Ray Marshall, President Carter's Labor Secretary.

Congressional proponents of a higher minimum wage, as well as many labor leaders, firmly oppose suggestions that any exemption be made for teen-age pay. "Teen-agers would simply replace older workers if they were exempted," warns Clara F. Schloss, an AFL-CIO economist, taking a view that harks back to the days before child-labor laws were enacted. "Nothing is gained by pitting one age group against another."

And an aide to Rep. John H. Dent (D., Pa.), who plans shortly to introduce the $3-an-hour proposal in the House, declares that "with such high adult unemployment as we have today, we certainly don't want to encourage a substitution of teen-agers for breadwinners."

Scarcity of Studies

Extensive, impartial studies of the causes of teen-age joblessness are surprisingly scarce, inconclusive and devoid of comment from teen-agers themselves. About seven years ago, the Labor Department issued a 189-page booklet titled "Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages." The booklet stated that "increases in the level and coverage of the federal minimum wage may have contributed to the employment problems of teen-agers." However, it went on to caution that "it is difficult to disentangle such effects from numerous other influences," such as training programs and schooling.

The booklet didn't address the important question of whether teen-agers might grab jobs from adults. Besides, some observers suspect that it is adults—particularly the women surging into the labor force—who are grabbing unskilled, low-paying jobs from teen-agers. And the competition for entry-level work is rising at a time when an increasingly technological economy may be generating proportionately fewer such jobs.

Betty Jackson, of course, works entirely on teen-agers' problems and not on adult unemployment, which remains about 7% despite nearly two years of economic recovery in the U.S. Accordingly, she cringes at the prospect of a $3 minimum that would include teen-agers. In fact, she is convinced that even the current $2.30 wage floor has tended to increase the teen-age jobless rate, which stands at nearly 20% for all teen-agers and roughly twice that level for black youths.

Surveying the Teen-Agers

Many teen-agers themselves share her views, according to a recent survey of more than 100 Dade County youths. Undertaken by the county consumer advocate's office, the survey sought to find out whether rising minimum wages do in fact contribute to teen-age joblessness. Today's $2.30 minimum is up from $1.60 as recently as 1973.

Teen-age unemployment is a severe problem in Dade County, an area with large black and Cuban-refugee populations. Some 40% of the youths interviewed said they were looking for work. The others either held jobs or didn't want one. Nearly half of those looking claimed that they would be willing to work for less than $2.30 an hour. Office work and restaurant jobs were frequently cited as occupations in which minimum-wage rules tend to limit the hiring of youths.

A second, more comprehensive study into the causes of teen-age unemployment in Dade County is being planned, with graduate students at the University of Miami volunteering to help county officials. But the recent survey leaves little doubt about the impact of minimum-wage rules.

Among the teen-agers surveyed is Maggie Jones, a 17-year-old black. Maggie, who recently gave birth to a boy, is unemployed but wants work. Guided by Dade County social workers, she recently applied for work at enterprises ranging from fast-food chains to department stores. However, she says, the answer that she gets is "always no, there's nothing available just now."

Would she work for less than $2.30 an hour? "You bet I would, but there aren't many jobs like that around," she says.

Jimmy Harris, an 18-year-old black neighbor of Maggie's, also wants a job. He had one last year, helping with inventories in a department store; it paid $2.30 an hour, and he says he liked it. But he was laid off on Dec. 30, when the Christmas shopping rush began to subside. Like Maggie, Jimmy claims that he would gladly work for less than $2.30 an hour. But "there's nothing around," he says, although he is a high-school graduate.

Leonard Murray, a 17-year-old black, recently had job interviews at Miami branches of two fast-food chains, but he says, "I've had no luck." He had earned $2.60 an hour in a metalworking plant; however, he recently was laid off. "I would have been happy to work there the rest of my life," he says. "It was an eight-hour day, but I really had to work hard only three or four hours." He reckons that "there would be more work if there was no minimum wage" for teen-agers.

Some of the teen-agers interviewed who do hold jobs are working for less than the $2.30 minimum. In some instances, federal law apparently is being violated. No violation of state law is involved because Florida is one of 10 states with no minimum-wage statute of its own.

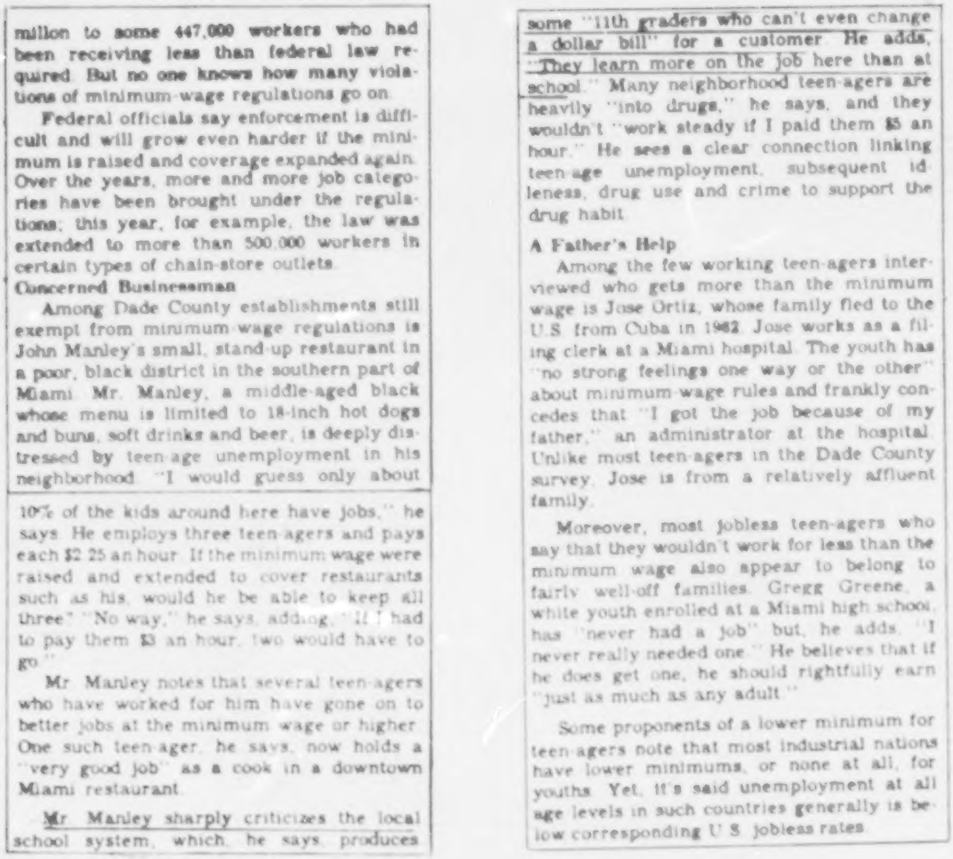
Deborah Evans, 17 and black, earns $15 a week baby-sitting for a neighbor. The job, which is steady, entails about four hours of work a day, so that on an hourly basis she receives far less than the $2.30 minimum. Neither Deborah nor her neighbor seem aware that a federal regulation is being violated. Although casual baby-sitting for a few hours a week isn't subject to minimum-wage rules, Labor Department officials say a job such as Deborah's, which involves more than 20 hours a week, clearly comes under the regulations.

Would Job "Disappear"?

In any event, Deborah seems happy with the job. If she were to demand $2.30 an hour, she says, the neighbor simply couldn't afford her services, the job would "disappear," and the neighbor would have to either give up her own job or leave young children alone in the house.

Various estimates indicate that roughly 10 million persons in a nonsupervisory labor force of more than 70 million remain uncovered by the federal law, although many of them are covered by state statutes. Some states' rules are stricter than federal law. Alaska's minimum is $2.80 an hour, and New York's, though $2.30, applies to a wider assortment of jobs than the federal minimum.

To try to enforce the federal minimum-wage regulations, the government employs about 1,000 so-called compliance officers. Complaints from workers also help. In a recent 12-month period, employers paid nearly $71



million to some 447,000 workers who had been receiving less than federal law required. But no one knows how many violations of minimum-wage regulations go on.

Federal officials say enforcement is difficult and will grow even harder if the minimum is raised and coverage expanded again. Over the years, more and more job categories have been brought under the regulations; this year, for example, the law was extended to more than 500,000 workers in certain types of chain-store outlets.

Concerned Businessman

Among Dade County establishments still exempt from minimum-wage regulations is John Manley's small, stand-up restaurant in a poor, black district in the southern part of Miami. Mr. Manley, a middle-aged black whose menu is limited to 18-inch hot dogs and buns, soft drinks and beer, is deeply distressed by teen-age unemployment in his neighborhood. "I would guess only about 10% of the kids around here have jobs," he says. He employs three teen-agers and pays each $2.25 an hour. If the minimum wage were raised and extended to cover restaurants such as his, would he be able to keep all three? "No way," he says, adding, "If I had to pay them $3 an hour, two would have to go."

Mr. Manley notes that several teen-agers who have worked for him have gone on to better jobs at the minimum wage or higher. One such teen-ager, he says, now holds a "very good job" as a cook in a downtown Miami restaurant.

Mr. Manley sharply criticizes the local school system, which, he says, produces some "11th graders who can't even change a dollar bill" for a customer. He adds, "They learn more on the job here than at school." Many neighborhood teen-agers are heavily "into drugs," he says, and they wouldn't "work steady if I paid them $5 an hour." He sees a clear connection linking teen-age unemployment, subsequent idleness, drug use and crime to support the drug habit.

A Father's Help

Among the few working teen-agers interviewed who gets more than the minimum wage is Jose Ortiz, whose family fled to the U.S. from Cuba in 1962. Jose works as a filing clerk at a Miami hospital. The youth has "no strong feelings one way or the other" about minimum-wage rules and frankly concedes that "I got the job because of my father," an administrator at the hospital. Unlike most teen-agers in the Dade County survey, Jose is from a relatively affluent family.

Moreover, most jobless teen-agers who say that they wouldn't work for less than the minimum wage also appear to belong to fairly well-off families. Gregg Greene, a white youth enrolled at a Miami high school, has "never had a job" but, he adds, "I never really needed one." He believes that if he does get one, he should rightfully earn "just as much as any adult."

Some proponents of a lower minimum for teen-agers note that most industrial nations have lower minimums, or none at all, for youths. Yet, it's said unemployment at all age levels in such countries generally is below corresponding U.S. jobless rates.

Source: Photographically reproduced from *The Wall Street Journal* (February 9, 1977) in *News Clippings* (Washington: Community Services Administration, Office of Public Affairs). One feature which seems to come through clearly is that complete elimination of the minimum wage would be in order. Another tack would be a substantial reduction in the minimum coupled with provisions that cumulative "transfers" via food stamps, medicaid, etc., do not exceed a specified percentage of the minimum.

19. The concept of government "taking action" to "create jobs" is an anomaly which is largely drawn from the myth which "assumes that politicians can simply pass laws raising society's standard of living, and that government is the *creator* of wealth, when in reality it is on balance the *consumer* and *destroyer* of national wealth." Irwin A. Schiff, *The Biggest Con* (New Rochelle, N.W.: Arlington House, 1976), p. 178. "...government produces nothing. It can only collect and distribute the fruits of the production of others..." Harold O.J. Brown, *The Reconstruction of the Republic* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1976), p. 188. One aspect of "government created

jobs" was described as follows by the National Review under the title of "Free Money".

> Last September, Congress provided another $2 billion for state and local projects that are ostensibly designed to create jobs. Proving once again that the demand for free money is very high, there are already some 25,000 applications totaling almost $22 billion more than Congress has provided. There are some suggestions that this indicates that the supply of federal funds should rise to meet the demand.
>
> The way the program works, the higher the unemployment rate and the lower the average income in an area, the better the chance of extracting these federal dollars from the rest of the country. There are many proven devices that local politicians can use to get unemployment up and income down. High state and local taxes are very effective in this respect, as are lavish welfare and unemployment benefits. There are other promising innovations, ranging from rent control and insurmountable environmental restrictions to high local minimum-wage laws and archaic building codes...

National Review, 29(March 4, 1977), p. 252.

20. Advocates of public-service jobs sometimes attempt an argument for expanded government employment of the unemployed by something like "with the large number of 'social needs' around, it's better to pay people to do something than to do nothing." However, as Herbert Stein observes, the decision to put people on the public payroll as "workers" rather than "transfer" recipients is irrelevant to public "needs". Furthermore, the goal of paying people to work, if that is an issue, could be resolved by service requirements on current recipients. Guzzardi has suggested that perhaps the gravest risk to an employment policy appropriate for today's condition comes from a dogmatic faith in old "New Deal" type shibboleths. For example, the recent bill to reduce adult unemployment to three percent by the public service route provided that the government would employ anyone out of work who had not refused a job at the "prevailing wage" in the private sector or at the wage the government would grant, whichever was higher:

> In a cutting analysis, Chalres Schultz of the Brookings Institution has come up with data proving that local government pays more for

> many comparable jobs than the private sector does. The differences can range as high as 40 percent.
>
> Schultz points out that a worker in the private sector could therefore quit his job, and then excercise his right to a government job at the higher wage. Either a massive movement into the government's employ would ensue, or private employers would be obliged to raise pay scales to meet those of the government, with tremendous inflation resulting.

"How To Deal With The New Unemployment"

21. Such are the unemployment compensation regulations that, according to Harvard economist Morton Feldstein, employees in some activities have agreed through their collective bargaining agents to accept layoffs in favor of unemployment compensation, an arrangement which "can be so attractive that some contracts, adapting admirable to lunatic circumstances, call for employees with the most seniority to be laid off first." Ibid.

22. If there is a cogent argument against a system in which employer pays his own way, it is that small firms in economic straits might be unable to pay the cost of releasing a few employees. Furthermore, the firm doing the firing may not be responsible for the business downturn. Ibid., p. 214.

CHAPTER 8

POVERTY AND EDUCATION

Education is responsible for the transmission of the cultural heritage from one generation to another. Education is also an important ingredient in fostering social change. Rightly or wrongly, education is regarded as the panacea for private and public problems of a cultural, social, or economic nature.[1] Gunnar Myrdal, in his epic work on black - white relations in America, analyzed how the American faith in education as a vehicle for social engineering has been ingrained into the assumption that "education has always been the great hope for both individual and society."[2]

Benefits of Education

Two primary categories into which the benefits of education fall (for the society providing the education as well as the recipient individual) are those of a *cultural* nature (such as the political and social attitudes that are shaped in and by the school) and those of an *economic* nature. While the cultural or social advantages of education are an important ingredient in the mix of education affect and may be the chief reward for some recipients, there is little question that Americans have viewed education with special affection largely because of the expectation that income and economic status would be more assured, more conveniently or desirably attained, and more rewarding than it would be without the schooling.

The economic growth of an area is to some degree dependent on the purposeful movement of individuals to better jobs, the development of new and better ways of doing things, the use of new products, and the ancillary tendency to plan for the future, including the provision and utilization of education.[3] Wall has pointed out that of all the resources of an area, the *human resource* component is the most important. Natural resources can neither be properly utilized nor conserved without the adequate development of human resources. To a great extent, economic progress hinges on human resource development.[4]

Much of the enormous progress of civilization is a partial result of the huge social investment in education. Most of the more successful men and women in most occupational categories are generally well educated. The people with the smallest earnings as a class tend to rank low in educational achievement. Often, they are deficient in basic skills, and have attended school for fewer years than persons higher up on the socio-economic scale.[5] To the extent that education is a tool by which the poor and disadvantaged can increase their per capita income, it is especially important for Mississippi (which has the largest proportion of poor persons in the nation) to provide for maximum development of its human resource potential.[6]

TABLE 1

PRESENT VALUE OF LIFETIME EARNINGS OF MALES, WHITE AND OTHER RACES, DISCOUNTED AT 2 PERCENT, UNITED STATES, 1972

Age and race	All males	Years of school completed					
		Less than 8 years	8 years	9-11 years	12 years	13-15 years	16 years or more
WHITE							
20-24...........	314,652	169,520	210,703	253,674	304,792	352,591	466,945
25-29...........	311,657	170,638	211,791	248,384	298,102	356,092	475,494
30-34...........	290,011	162,010	201,327	230,869	276,750	337,042	456,683
35-39...........	257,212	145,958	178,908	205,316	247,752	306,304	419,053
40-44...........	217,169	124,065	150,413	174,021	212,975	267,873	365,032
OTHER RACES							
20-24...........	183,807	116,694	147,264	167,840	200,580	208,618	292,033
25-29...........	179,565	117,096	146,877	165,388	196,449	209,511	288,306
30-34...........	163,307	109,539	137,263	154,274	179,116	193,700	270,375
35-39...........	141,157	97,217	122,594	138,609	158,430	170,290	240,696
40-44...........	117,991	82,641	105,446	120,729	139,667	147,062	205,937

Source: Social Security Administration, Office of Research and Statistics, Research and Statistics Note, 14-1975, (September 30, 1975), p. 5.

EDUCATION AND INCOME

As with income, the educational level of a given individual or social group is simultaneously related to a variety of factors--luck, chance, biology, social status, random influences, environment, motivation, availability of facilities, and so on are all determinants of income. That education is a critical factor in income determination (or perhaps that it serves as an important class instrument in the preservation of inequality)[7] is seen in the expected lifetime earnings of males age 20-24 by years of school completed. The present values of lifetime earnings for college educated whites discounted at 2%[8] is 2.75 times greater than for males with less than 8 years of education and 1.59 times greater for males of other races in the same status. Racial influence is not erased through education in that current value of lifetime earnings of college educated males of other races was only 62% of that of whites.

Table 2, which gives the mean and median earnings of members of the labor force in the United States in 1970, shows that the income of persons with less than eight years of education was less than 50% of those with 5 or more years of college. Income differentials are not entirely an artifact of educational differences. Those with the least amounts of education frequently possess other characteristics and disabilities which limit their markable skills. However, there is a consistent relationship between formal education attained and median income.

TABLE 2

MEDIAN AND MEAN EARNINGS BY YEARS OF EDUCATION, LABOR FORCE, UNITED STATES, 1970

LABOR FORCE		MEDIAN EARNINGS	MEAN EARNINGS
TOTAL		$ 8,601	$ 9,654
Elementary	0-8 years	6,368	6,615
High School	1-3 years	7,890	8,112
	4 years	8,805	9,271
College	1-3 years	9,745	10,821
	4 years	12,507	14,041
	5 or more	13,309	15,959

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports, Earnings by Occupation and Education, p. 1.

Whatever the form of measurement used, the data reveal that in terms of group averages, the higher the number of years of schooling, the higher the income received. However, increased years of formal education does not necessarily result in the person with a higher education having greater earnings than a given individual with less formal education. Benefits of education above basic skills in literacy and communication are not realized by all to the same degree.[9]

EDUCATION LEVELS AND POVERTY IN MISSISSIPPI

Poverty, Education, and Age

The relationship between incidence of poverty and income holds true for Mississippi families (Table 3). For whites age 25-64, 30.3% of the families whose head had less than 8 years education had 1969 incomes below the poverty level. This proportion decreased consistently with increased levels of education. The same pattern is found for families in which the head was 65 years or more of age, although the percentage of poor is much larger for each educational level.

TABLE 3

PERCENT FAMILIES WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND AGE OF HEAD, WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

EDUCATION	Under 25 Years White	Under 25 Years Black	25-64 Years White	25-64 Years Black	65 Years & Over White	65 Years & Over Black
Elementary						
Under 8 years	26.0	71.0	30.3	66.4	55.2	73.3
8 Years	22.8	67.2	18.6	57.8	43.3	63.2
High School						
1-3 Years	18.1	62.5	13.6	52.4	34.0	59.6
4 Years	10.6	35.5	7.9	38.3	20.3	51.5
College						
1-3 Years	17.2	34.9	5.3	27.8	16.6	45.5
4 Years	13.6	11.7	3.4	6.1	9.0	22.9
5 or More	10.4	----	3.1	5.2	8.5	27.6

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970

The linear relationship between education and income also shows a consistent pattern for the black population, although the proportion of poor among blacks is larger at each education level. Whereas only

8% of the white families in Mississippi whose head (ages 25-64) had completed four years of high school were poor, 38% of their black counterparts were poor. While 5% of the white families of this age group whose head had 1-3 years of college were poor, 28% of their black counterparts had incomes below the poverty level.

For aged blacks, the mediating effect of education is less than for whites. For example, whereas 8.5% of the white families whose head had five or more years of college education but was 65 years of age or more were poor, nearly 28% of their black counterparts were poor.

High school graduation marks a definite drop in the percentage of black poor. Nevertheless, 38.3% of the black families whose head had completed high school had incomes below the poverty level. There is comparatively little racial difference in the proportion of poor families whose head finished college among the 25-64 age group. For heads obtaining 1-3 years of college, however, only 5% of the whites in contrast to 28% of the black families were poor. The proportions of poor among those completing specified years of college for the under 25 population likely reflects the gentle poverty of students and young families without responsibilities.

Poverty, Education, and Residential Distribution

Median education levels of family heads in Mississippi are highest for the urban population (12.3) and lowest for the rural population (8.9). The median exceeds 12 years for all income family heads for the State as a whole (10.8), the urban population (12.2) and the Jackson SMSA (12.4).

TABLE 5

MEDIAN YEARS SCHOOL COMPLETED, FAMILY HEADS,
TOTAL AND NEGRO, BY RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	STATE	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM	JACKSON SMSA
Total					
All Income	10.8	12.2	9.5	8.9	12.4
Poor	7.6	8.5	7.0	6.7	9.1
Black					
All Income	7.2	8.4	6.4	5.6	9.3
Poor	6.2	7.6	5.8	5.2	8.5

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Racial and residential differentials remain when the age of family head is considered. Whether poor or nonpoor, white or black, there is a consistent decrease in education levels as age increases. Aged black family heads of poor families have a median education of about five years (Table 6), barely sufficient for the five years of effective education required for functional literacy.

The median education level of the heads of all income families age 25-64 for the State as a whole exceeds 12 years only for the white population (12.2). The corresponding rate for black heads of this age group is 7.7 (Table 6). Corresponding levels for heads of poor families are 9.4 and 6.6 years respectively.

TABLE 6

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY FAMILY HEADS, BY RACE, AGE, AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

State						
Total	12.3	11.3	8.1	10.7	7.8	6.2
White	12.6	12.2	8.9	12.5	9.4	8.2
Black	10.2	7.7	5.1	9.1	6.6	4.9
Urban						
Total	12.6	12.3	8.7	11.0	8.6	5.5
Black	12.0	8.7	6.4	10.3	8.1	5.1
Rural Nonfarm						
Total	12.1	10.1	7.4	9.9	7.2	6.1
Black	9.5	6.8	4.9	8.4	6.1	4.7
Rural Farm						
Total	10.0	9.4	8.1	8.1	6.8	6.5
Black	7.6	5.9	5.0	7.2	5.3	4.8

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

There has been a consistent long term improvement in the levels of education attained by all population categories. The Mississippi population, no less than the nation as a whole, has been characterized by the long term increase in the educational level of the population. Nevertheless, Misssissippi, and the South as a whole, still have a long way to go to attain educational parity with the rest of the nation.[10]

The median education levels of the Mississippi population for 1970 remained below the norm for the United States and the rest of the South for males and females (Table 7). The Mississippi white population compares favorably with national averages. The black population of Mississippi is among the most disadvantaged population groups in the country in terms of the levels of education attained. The median education level of Mississippi white males is in parity with the national measure (12.1). Black males, however, have a median educational level that is less than seven years (6.5), compared to a high school median for white counterparts. The 6.5 years median education level of black males in Mississippi is the lowest in the nation.

TABLE 7

MEDIAN EDUCATION LEVELS, PERSONS AGE 25 AND OVER, UNITED STATES, SOUTH, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	MALES	FEMALES
United States	12.1	12.1
South	11.2	11.4
Mississippi	10.4	10.8

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 8

MEDIAN YEARS EDUCATION, MALE POPULATION AGE 25 AND OVER, BY RACE, UNITED STATES, SOUTH, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
United States	12.1	12.1	9.4
South	11.2	11.8	8.2
Mississippi	10.4	12.1	6.5

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Mississippi, as in other educational measures, has made a tremendous increase in the proportion of its population with a high school education. The proportion of black residents with a high school diploma increased by 360% (from 4.1% to 14.9%) between 1950 and 1970. The percentage of white population who had finished high school increased from about one third (33.7%) in 1950 to more than 50% in 1970.

TABLE 9

PERCENT POPULATION* HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, UNITED STATES, SOUTH, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1950 AND 1970

	1970	1950
United States	52.3	33.4
South	45.1	25.9
Mississippi	41.0	21.4

*Age 25 and over.

Source: 1970, U.S. Census of Population, 1970 1950 J.V.D. Saunders, et al , Mississippi's Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects, (Mississippi State College, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 6, 1957), p. 66.

Racial Differences in Education

The educational levels of Southern blacks has been low relative to whites everywhere and to nonwhites outside the South.[11] A number of observers have highlighted factors which have functioned to depress the educational levels of nonwhites. These range from the inadequate provision of facilities and differential accessibility to various incentive factors such as cultural differences in attitudes toward deferred gratification and achievement and the belief that prejudice limits the advancement of nonwhites.[12]

In 1970, 41% of the Mississippi population age 25 and over had graduated from high school (Table 10). The proportion of white high school graduates (52.6) had almost attained parity with the national norm (54.4). However, the percentage of the State's black population age 25 and over who were high school graduates was slightly less than 15%, making Mississippi the lowest ranking State in the nation in this regard. The low proportion of high school graduates among blacks in Mississippi reflects 1) the historical deprivation of blacks in terms of educational facilities, access, and opportunity, and 2) the racial interstate migration patterns wherein there has been a long standing pattern of net out-migration of younger and more educated blacks to other States.[13] Furthermore, the educational composition of Mississippi in-migrants may have had some influence on the close to the national proportion of the white population having at least a high school education.

TABLE 10

PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE* BY RACE AND
SEX, UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	MALES	FEMALE	WHITE	BLACK
United States	52.3	51.9	52.8	54.5	31.4
Mississippi	41.0	40.3	41.5	52.6	14.9

*Age 25 and over.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

School Dropouts

School dropouts have generally been regarded as a social problem of major proportions.[14] Observation of how poorly dropouts compared with graduates in employment and income led many to conclude that prevention of dropouts would greatly lower the incidence of pathologies which characterized many of the dropouts. A fatal error of such comparisons is a failure to control other present and often more influential variables.

More careful studies have shown that very little of the comparatively disadvantaged position of dropouts in the job market can be attributed to their lack of formal education. Because of differences in race, class, and personal characteristics, attitude, and outlook, the graduates would have earned more whether or not they attended college. Dropouts tend to be persons with below average job prospects even if they remain in school. Recent studies have also indicated that the income and employment differentials between high school graduates and dropouts is suprisingly small.[15]

Perhaps the best measure of comparative educational quality is performance on educational tests. The poor performance of Southern potential draftees on the Selective Service mental tests is an indicator of "deficiencies in the Southern educational system as well as cultural deprivations."[16] In 1971, Mississippi ranked first in percentage disqualifications for failures on the Selective Service mental examination. The proportion of failures in Mississippi (21.1%) was over five times greater than the national average (3.9%). This measure has been regarded as a sufficiently significant indicator of deprivations associated with poverty populations that it was a component of the requisite community data in CAP applications.[17] The Coleman Report, which involved the examination of a battery of skills and subject areas, indicated that "the average Southern rural black graduates from high school with what amounts to eight grade training in the Northeast." Furthermore, the Coleman Report concluded that "no Southern student group (except perhaps urban whites) enters the world beyond the school with a record of educational achievement that approaches, much less matches, the level elsewhere.

The Coleman study began with a focus on differences between black and white school faculties on the assumption this was related to student achievement, but ended with conclusions that challenge traditional notions of the relative influence of school-related and socio-economically related factors on student achievement.[19] The data did not support any indication of a relationship between the physical or fiscal characteristics of schools and student achievement. The report indicates that for blacks the relative equality of Southern school facilities with those in other parts of the country adds less to student achieyement than does the relative inferiority of the teachers (as measured by verbal acuity) in them. The results of the Coleman study also indicated that differences in family background account for more variation in the achievements of white and black children than differences in school facilities.[20]

Education as an Anti-Poverty Tool

Education is a major tool in efforts to break the poverty cycle and to keep poverty from being perpetuated from generation to generation. Low education is a product - and in turn a producer - of poverty and unemployment.[21] However, it is easy to misconstrue the role of education as an explanatory factor in accounting for a greater incidence of poverty among a population group. Marshall and Christian have pointed out that while educational differences appear, on the surface, to explain a large part of the disequal status of the black population, this is hardly surprising in that education, as much or perhaps more than any single variable, captures discrimination in all forms - schools, housing, income, and school activities which influence aspirations and attitudes-- and is therefore highly associated with statistical measures of black disadvantage. The fact that a variety of discriminatory forces are concentrated in the educational system makes it unlikely that improvement can be accomplished through education alone.[22]

Educational Outlays and Expenditures

The rising productivity and income of the Southern region has made possible an immense program of educational expansion since World War II. By 1973, yearly appropriations for capital outlay were approximately equal to the total value of school property at the end of World War II. Southerners adherence to the national faith in educational expansion as a means to prosperity and well-being "showed in their willingness to carry an unusually heavy financial burden in terms of the ratio of expenditure per pupil to the total wealth of the region."[23] In 1968, for example, Mississippi, with the lowest per capita income, spent approximately 6.3 percent of it on public schools. Conneticut, with the nation's highest per capita personal income, spent only 4.6 percent of it on public schools. Mississippi's current expenditure per pupil in

1940 was only 30% of the national average. By 1974, the current expenditure per pupil in Mississippi had increased more than 3,000% (Table 11), and was 70% of the national average.[24]

TABLE 11

SOUTHERN SCHOOL ENROLLMENT 1940, 1971 AND CURRENT
EXPENDITURES PER PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPIL, 1940, 1974

	Public elementary and high schools		Current expenditures per public school pupil		
	1971 (Thousand)	% change since 1940	1940	1974	% Change
Alabama	821	+21	$31	$ 716	2,210
Arkansas	460	-1	21	773	2,763
Florida	1,570	+325	58	1,041	1,695
Georgia	1,136	+54	34	869	2,456
Louisiana	874	+85	51	978	1,818
MISSISSIPPI	545	-8	25	787	3,048
North Carolina	1,198	+35	40	900	2,150
South Carolina	649	+35	856	856	2,418
Tennessee	936	+44	38	759	1,879
Texas	2,812	+112	60	809	1,248
Virginia	1,110	+95	44	983	2,134
United States	--	--	82	1,120	1,266

Source: Charles P. Boland, The Improbable Era: The South Since World War II, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975), pp. 99-114.

In 1970 - 1971, Mississippi spent $521 per pupil in public schools, compared with $1,370 for New York. However, Mississippi residents, who have traditionally ranked among the highest if not the highest States in terms of the proportionate amount of State and local taxes allocated to public education (9.3% of personal income in Mississippi and 7.5% in New York) devoted a higher proportion of available income to education.

Tables 12, 13, and 14 show the numerical and percentage changes for selected public education data for 1962-63, 1973-74, and 1975-76. During 1962-63 and 1975-76 public school enrollment decreased by almost 90,000 pupils (-13%). However, school staff increased by circa 13,000 functionaries (+33%). Expenditure per pupil, often regarded as a basic index of "quality" education,[25] attained $1,023 for 1975-76. Average salaries of superintendents , which more than doubled in the interim 1962-63, 1973-74, increased by additional 20% by 1975-76.

TABLE 12

ENROLLMENT, ATTENDANCE, STAFF AND INSTRUCTIONAL PERSONNEL PUBLIC SCHOOLS, MISSISSIPPI, 1962-63, 1973-74, AND 1975-76

YEAR	Enrollment	% Change	Average Daily Attendance	% Change	Staff Personnel	% Change	Instructional Personnel	% Change
1962-63	596,197		515,245		33,819		20,443	
1973-74	534,667	-10.3	483,581	-6.5	45,041	+33.2	26,217	+28.2
1975-76	516,774	- 3.3	479,076	xxx	46,918	+10.8	31,111	+18.7

Source: Statistical Data 1973-74, (Jackson: Mississippi State Department of Education), and 1975-76 Statistical Data (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Education).

TABLE 13

EXPENDITURE DATA, PUBLIC SCHOOLS MISSISSIPPI, 1962-63 - 1973-74, AND 1975-76

YEAR	Expenditure Per Pupil	% Change	Superintendents Average Salary	% Change	Average Salary Instructional Personnel	% Change	Public School Expenditure (million) $	% Change
1962-63	212.70		8,105.19		3,674.03		133	
1973-74	777.00	+376	16,988.53	+110	8,337.00	+127	423	+218
1975-76	1,023.00	+ 31	20,435.03	+ 16	9,623.00	+ 15	491	+ 16

Source: Same as Table 12.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE CHANGES, SPECIFIED PUBLIC SCHOOL DATA,
MISSISSIPPI, 1962-63, AND 1975-76

Enrollment	Average Daily Attendance	Staff Personnel	Instructional Personnel	Expenditure Per Pupil	Average Salary of Superintendents	Average Salary of Instructional Personnel	Public School Expenditure (millions)
-13	-6.5	+33	+39	+380	+152	+182	+269

Source: Same as Table 12.

Measuring Educational Quality

It all to frequently happens that educational quality is assumed to be equated with dollar expenditure per pupil, instructional expense, or similar measures of input. A frequently corollary is the assumption that the answer to any alleged educational deficiency lies in a larger capital outlay. The weight of the hard research evidence, however, seems overwhelming that once a basis of adequacy is reached there is little if any cost-quality relationships in the schools.[26] The Coleman report, based on the most extensive study of public schools ever undertaken, has already been mentioned as documenting an absence of relationship between variation in school fiscal and human resources and student achievement.[27] The Jencks study confirmed Coleman's finding of greater variation within schools than among systems classified by various input measures. Jencks and associates found that everything-- school budget, teacher profiles, social policies-- are all secondary or irrelevant to the basic explanatory variable-- the characteristics of attending children. Similary, dozens of class-size studies have provided other data which factually challenges the averments between class size, instructional costs, pupil expenditures, and similar input measures and alleged educational success. The hard data has revealed more differences within educational units than between units classified on the basis of economic expenditures and other input factors.[28]

There is no question but that basic skills in communication and information processing are necessary to maximize one's chances to capitalize on formal education or other training. On the other hand, the many extensive experiments over the last decade[29] have taken any presumption of validity out of the assumption that increased expenditures per se for educational salaries, services, or facilities will be of significant direct or trickle down value on the ability of the poor to achieve a better economic or social status.[30] Blanket endorsement of more liberal funding for educational enterprises -- whatever their merit or desirability otherwise -- cannot be entertained on the promise of a significant contribution to the alleviation of poverty. Horton and Leslie summarize the findings of studies[31] which assessed the relationship between educational quality and increased expenditures:

> ...there is no convincing evidence that, beyond a certain point, increased school expenditures bring any substantial improvement in educational outcome. Just where this point of vanishing returns is located is not clear; what is clear is that pouring more money into the existing school system is likely to show disappointing results. Much of the money will be wasted on uses that are educationally unproductive. It will bring prettier school building to some areas, and will bring to teachers higher salaries, but it is unlikely that any substantial gains in learning will follow.[32]

Education and the Reduction of Poverty and Inequality

There are probably few institutions before which the individual (whether as parent or, in the case of higher education, student individual), is as helpless as he is before the education machine.[33]

> ...Few actions of the state are as coercive as compulsory education. Taxation exacts money but not time.[34] Military service is required only in times of emergency, and those who serve are paid. Confinement in prison is imposed only on those who are convicted...But confinement in a school by force of law occupies six hours a day, eight months a year, for one sixth of the lifetime of every citizen.[35]

Free public education is regarded as a powerful redistributive force both in the short run for parents and later through its influence on earnings.[36] However, the effective amount and the direction of the redistribution are debatable issues. The feeling has grown in many sectors that our educational system has all too often contributed to the psychological social, economic, and moral evils it has traditionally been alleged to combat.[37]

A number of critics maintain that the educational system has not operated to foster upward mobility of low status persons and groups. They assert that the educational system has perpetuated inequality by socializing children for status roles based on sex and class. Greer contends that economic success is the predecessor rather than the result of educational success for disadvantaged population groups.[38] Milner doubts that either public school expenditures or college studies has significant influence on the class structure.[39] He agrees with Jencks and others that "poverty and inequality cannot be greatly changed by educational approaches no matter what the school system does."[40]

There seems to be little question but that the redistributive effect of higher education is from the poor to those would be relatively well off even without education.[41] Friedman has described this redistribution as "taxing the people of Watts to send the children of Beverly Hills to college."[42]

The extensive government subsidation of higher education through direct transfers from earners to educational institutions and activities is accepted public policy.[43] Consequently, the direction of this redistribution is of considerable significance.[44] As Naylor and Clotfeller have pointed out, at the least "states should see that students who are not going on to higher education should not pay an unwarranted amount in taxes to those who do."[45] Friedman has observed that low-income tax payers and youngsters not in college are much less effective than students and professors in presenting a case for increased state expenditures on education. The subsidy to students enrolled in State colleges (difference between tuition and actual cost) is only partially returned through taxes on the increased income they receive. The greater part is paid by the rest of the public, including citizens least positioned to take advantage of higher education. Friedman's suggested policy is:

> It is eminently desirable that every youngster, regardless of his or his parent's income, social position, residence, or race, have the opportunity to get higher schooling - provided he is willing to pay for it either currently or out of the higher income the schooling will enable him to earn. There is a strong case for providing generous loan funds in order to assure opportunity for all. There is a strong case for disseminating information about the availability of such funds and for urging the underprivileged to take advantage of the opportunity. There is no case for subsidizing those who get higher schooling at the expense of those who do not.[46]

One popular justification for the extensive public investment in higher education is that it will expand educational opportunity and decrease inequality. Although such arguments are widely voiced and accepted, the plain fact as suggested by Staff and Tullock is that "higher education increases inequality. College professors are engaged in assisting those who are well off to exploit the poor."[47] While some altered admission and scholarship policies have provided direct enticement to persons of targeted categories, this does not alter the fact that "the middle classes benefit greatly from the institution and that, in general, the poor lose."[48]

Higher education normally increases the degree of inequality. Those persons of poor parentage receiving compensatory scholarships are generally those who, though coming from poor families, have enough capital in the form of human talent to do very well in life anyway. Consequently, the subsidation which is received is principally a gift to the parents.[49] Higher education is a good example of the phenomenon that "redistribution of income characteristically takes the form of shifts back and forth within the middle income groups who control the bulk of political power and taxable capacity."[50]

Necessity for Salable Skills

Salable skills are clearly requisite for earning an income that puts an individual above the poverty line. Equality of opportunity should be provided for all individuals. All persons irrespective of class, income, or even age,[51] should have the opportunity to take advantage of as much education as they desire, including higher education. Desiring lower-middle class persons, minorities, the disadvantaged and socio-economically deprived, should have equal opportunity with others to pursue higher education at community colleges and universities and to qualify for professional and graduate degrees. It should be distinctly recognized, however, that expenditures for higher education have the net effect of being "a transfer of funds which injures most of the poor."[52]

The efficacy of a college education for the elimination of poverty would also seem diluted by the fact that the educational institutions are turning out more graduates than there are positions which can utilize the educational levels attained. Also, any consideration of the role of education in making a comparative contribution to raising the position of the disequalized must recognize that scholarships to selected representatives of categorical or deprived populations makes little if any overall contribution (irrespective of the selected individuals who are thus given an opportunity to enhance a lifetime stream of income which would have exceeded that of their less gifted peers anyway) to the reduction of overall disadvantages of the deprived. Where there are limited enrollments in professional schools which allow only selected admittance, this individual gain must be balanced against the losses to other disadvantaged categorical minorities and individuals of lower-middle or upper-lower class (the working poor, if not the hard core welfare poor) of equivalent ability and ambition who are not selected to receive support, and are thus denied opportunity for achievement.

INCREASING EDUCATIONAL RETURNS AND EFFICIENCY

A number of the scared cows of educational faith have been gored by the realities of experience, hard data, and changing social circumstances. There is increasing recognition of the invalidity of the belief that increased funding solves most educational deficiencies, or that social and personal benefits are a necessary derivative of expanded education enterprises. The direction, as well as the wisdom and practical effects of increased expenditures, are open to serious challenge. Following is a brief synopsis of some of the possible directions which might be taken within the realm of education in attempting to make education more serviceable, applicalbe, and responsive to broad society needs, particularly the interests of the poor.

DESCHOOLING

The fact that education is often an indicator of skills in specified tasks is extensively used as a method of classifying individuals. However, there is increasing concern that educational credentialing more often than necessary functions as an access barrier to the disadvantaged rather than as a legitimate indicator of qualification.[53] A number of studies have reported that formal education requirements have proved irrelevant to job performance even in areas in which there was pressure for occupants to improve themselves educationally and/or to raise educational barriers above the level of persons already performing the activity successfully. Critics have observed that increased and often inapplicable formal education requirements seem to be motivated as much by a desire to screen out competition and raise the community image of a vocation (particularly noticeable in the efforts of vocational enterprises such as nursing, teaching, and social work) into that of a legitimate profession with corresponding income and other accounterments and deferences.Educationists have been accused of favoring such developments because of the built-in educational needs which must be met by programs, professors, and educational plants as individuals who wish to enter into that area of occupational endeavor find that subjection to the formal education process is required at ever higher levels.

The poor and disequalized as well as the society at large would seem to benefit from critical rethinking of the actual skills and learning required for adequate job performance.[54] Unnecessary barriers, credentialing, and educational requirements should be ameliorated wherever appropriate.[55]

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

There seems to be near universal agreement on the necessity for public education to teach marketable skills as opposed to preparing some students for more education and alienating the rest. To the extent that improved education for the disadvantaged is a hope for breaking the poverty cycle, it must open the door to career opportunities either directly to jobs or to additional schooling leading to the professions. Vocational education has too frequently been a residual program to occupy those students not desiring to go to college or restricted to "shop" for boys and a home economics program for girls.

For generations schools were regarded as the indisposable preparation for work. However, among the ideas which fermented in the literary and intellectual culture of the late 1960s and early 1970s was the notion that schools, rather than a protector of children which offered them the opportunity to play, grow, and learn the skills that were required for social survival and economic progress, were

> ...pathologically isolated products...of economic pressures to keep youth out of the work-force. School-children are said to be walled off from healthy social realities by irrelevant compulsory attendance

and school leaving laws.[56]

One spillover from the perspective that "schools prevent students from learning" was the notion that "the answer to the barrenness of formal schools is real experience." The "career education [57] movement, which recognized schools taught "things that are useless for jobs or careers" and kept adolescents in an artificial environment that prevented them from learning career skills, saw work as a better way of preparing to learn rather than schools as a better way of preparing to work.

While the concept of "career education" seemed to indicate a goal of letting students into the workplace,[58] putting them in close contact with adults, and giving them real-life hands-on experience" which would produce "high school graduates with immediately salable skills, whether or not they choose to go to college," the concept seems to be rather vague and loose. Further, it seems to be largely limited to classroom "visits" to work cites or various class activity through films and career curricula rather than real work experience.[59]

McGowan and Cohen, in their assessment of career education, feel that "an innovative movement designed to produce structural change seems to have been changed by the structure" in that the "implementation of career education has mostly produced programmatic parodies of the original ideas." While the notion of using work as an alternative to formal schooling and as a stimulus to learning has rational appeal, it does not seem to have a widespread vested interest appeal.[60] They feel that "informal education and experiential learning may make sense, but they seem unlikely to find their way into practice without more institutional support and social inventiveness than current fantasies have mobilized."[61]

Perhaps the last thing needed by the education system -- other than another round of increased financial emoluments to occupants of public teaching slots -- is the addition of a new level of educationist functionaries, particularly at a centralized level. However, given the increased difficulty college graduates find in obtaining jobs,[62] it is likely that good vocational - career education programs could be of some value to a large proportion of high school students. A combined improvement in the career education component of public school education and continuing education for the adult and aged population would seen to be in order.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

The most neglected school-age population in the South is the one that includes those children with abnormalties that require different or additional educational services from the normal child. Perhaps the absence of futurism of such children does not give the pragmatic economic incentive to the public which underlies uncritical support for public education and has played the leading role in the cooperation among State legislatures, local authorities, and tax payers for programs of educational expansion.[63] The idea that public education is a right of abnormal children to an equivalent education has been slow to take hold. In 1971, Mississippi was estimated to have 100,000 school age children in need of special education who were not getting it.[64]

State failures in providing special education seem to be in the process of being remedied, thanks to federal requirements. Public Law 93-380 mandates that all handicapped children must have available by September 1, 1980, free appropriate public education. Federal legislation has resulted in the development of many model programs "serving thousands of handicapped children and their parents."[65] Reports from State education agencies indicate that special education programming is growing. In the last decade the number of children in special education programs nationally has grown from 2.1 to 4.3 million. However, nearly one-half of the nation's estimated 8 million handicapped children are not receiving educational services.

EDUCATIONAL CREDITABILITY

The increased educational attainment and the necessity for educational credentials to avoid undesirable status categories and to be considered for desired statuses has been reflected in a widely asknowedged challenge to performance standards and evaluation procedures.[66] Many of the poor have been victimized by an "education" which gives its graduates a "diploma which some of the recipients can't even read"[67] or leaves them devoid of salable or marketable skills. Brown[68] has observed:

> American education is strangley unproductive. It is not in backward, mountainous regions but in prosperous (areas) ...that there is serious discussion in mid-1976 of introducing the "reform" of requiring ability to read for graduation from high school. Travelers in poverty-stricken India can observe little children, dressed in what is probably their sole garment, trudging down a dirt road, carrying their writing slates to a mud-walled communal school. Those children will learn to read and write in a complicated script having fifty letters and numerous variants for vowel sounds by the time they are nine or ten. American children ... in jean type pants and flowered shirts, chosen from an ample selection, will be picked up by yellow buses and transported to expensive wall-to-wall carpeted buildings, where they will be occupied for twelve years and where many of them will emerge unable to read a fairly simple language in an alphabet of twenty-six letters.

A recent study by the National Assessment of Educational Progress indicates that over forty percent of the nation's blacks are functionally illiterate in terms of "being able to perform tasks necessary to function in American society, such as reading newspapers, instructions and drivers' license tests." Ninety-two percent of the nation's 17-year-old whites were reading sufficiently well to score 75% on tests of reading ability using such devices as traffic signs, graphic materials, and simple reference books, contrasted to fifty-eight percent of the black 17-year-olds.

Less than twenty percent of the 17-year-olds were able to come up with the amount of liability coverage for bodily injury on an insurance form, and less than half were able to recognize that no money was required in mailing a book club application. Surveys for the period 1971-1975 revealed a steady decline in ability to identify key phrases in a reading passage, pick out subject areas of improvement on a report card, or identify the spot where a billboard would be most easily seen.[69]

EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS

Survey data that a considerable proportion of American adults lack the knowledge and skills necessary to function at a reasonably successful level in such matters as making change, reading job notices, shopping or addressing an envelope. In a recent survey, less than half of the adult population was judged proficient in routine matters of consumer economics. The study's project director concluded that contemporary education is fairly adequate in preparing students for more education, but does poorly in preparing students for everyday life. Some "major rethinking" about what is being taught at the elementary and high school levels was recommended, including reconsideration of the requirements for high school graduation.

ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION

Many educators have concluded that forcing physically mature persons to remain in school against their will may well do more harm than good. Learning skills may be facilitated for some persons ourside of the artificial work situation of the classroom. Some have suggested that compulsory school attendance beyond a certain age (like 12 or 14) be replaced by educational opportunities which might take place in a variety of settings -- home study courses, on the job training programs operated by businesses, high schools, and split work-study programs.[71]

EXPANDED USE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION FACILITIES

The investment in public school facilities could in many instances provied larger return to the communities by expanded use for educational and social service programs. Furthermore, the public school facilities should be utilized for expanded adult education programs that "may include everything from basic literary courses of high school level to courses necessary to receive a diploma, vocational training, and continuing education." The proprietary attitude toward restrictive use of schools and school property could be properly replaced by the "lighted school" concept of opening schools around-the-clock around-the-year for activities by other groups.[72]

Similarly, it should be recognized that opportunity for utilization of educational facilities is a lifelong one rather than one restricted to younger age groups. Vocational, avocational, and general purpose education for adults should be recognized as a major educational responsibility, and facilities should be utilized to the fullest extent possible congruent with the aims of lifelong education as opposed to the the notion that education continues only through adolescence and then ends.

TAX POLICIES WITH ENABLING EDUCATIONAL INCENTIVES

A major problem facing middle or low income families, some of whom must finance the education of their children through out-of-pocket payment, is that of expense. Convenient access to public junior colleges and decentralized branches of State universities has made education more accessible for many persons. However, the student's cost of attending college are continually moved upward.[73] Costs for the 1975-1976 academic year were expected to increase by 12% at public colleges and 9% at private institutions over the previous year. Tuition costs for commuter students at community colleges are expected to be several thousand dollars by 1980.[74]

Perhaps the most direct and beneficial step that could be taken to enable interested persons of low and moderate income to take advantage of educational opportunites would be to provide a tax credit for tuition expenditures. This would allow those persons who could not otherwise afford to make educational investments to do so without the necessity of direct subsidation (thus maximizing individual autonomy of choice). This is possibly the single most apparent step that could be taken by the State to affirm a committment to educational opportunity. It would also provide a rather direct method by which consumers could signal providers of the type and kinds of education desired. Rather than a redistribution[75] program with attendant administrative costs and inequities of allocation, a a tax credit would be self-distributing in that real returns would be realized by those taking advantage of the opportunity to obtain additional or extended education.

A VOUCHER PLAN FOR ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

A voucher system has been proposed as a potential solution to problems of school control, parental and ethnic group powerlessness, and relevance to socio-economic, cultural and ethnic preferences and interests. Proponents, particularly in urban areas, partly as an expression of "black power", and partly as a reaction to huge impersonal educational bureaucracies, have viewed educational vouchers as a means of escaping racist discrimination and giving the poor effective participation in resolving educational issues.[76]

In essence, this method would involve the state giving direct grants to students in the form of vouchers which could be used to pay for educational tuition.[77] It would force providers to become comparatively student oriented, as well as meet objection to the present system of financing education through state subsidation of institutions. Naylor and Clotfelder suggest that "what is neeed is not subsidies for the status quo, but incentives for higher education institutions to upgrade quality and extend opportunity."[78]

CAPITAL INVESTMENT

Naylor and Clotfelder state that in Mississippi and other States where the ratio of expenditure for capital outlay exceeds the national figure the "school dollar has been spent for the construction of new facilities at a questionable rate."[62] The Coleman and Jencks reports and other assessments have lead to a serious questioning of the policy propriety of heavy investments in education. These reports "should give pause to those school boards in the South that have poured resources into capital investment at above the national rate when these same resources could be devoted to the strengthening of factors found to influence student achievement more directly."[80]

At the post-high school level, the need to provide sufficient community colleges to make education beyond high school "easily available to all who can benefit from it, or who are willing to pay for it"[81] through provision of community colleges or technical institutions within commuting distance of most students notwithstanding, Levitan has pointed out that "it is not at all clear that society will be served by continued expansion of college facilities."[82] He emphasizes the need of the poor for remedial education and vocational education in order to compete effectively for gainful employment and the creation of adequate training facilities for those who are sufficiently motivated to acquire new skills.

SUMMARY

In general, education is positively associated with income. Mississippi has rapidly moved in the direction of national averages with respect to formal education attained by the population. The trend toward more schooling for everybody has been matched by the faith that more education is what everybody needs. A related notion has been the belief that pouring additional funds into the school system offered low-income children a way to escape their plight. However, experience has demonstrated that "education as an answer to poverty" is less than an adequate remedy. Among the suggestions considered for making education more responsive to and serviceable for the needs of the poor are deschooling, vocational training, special education, educational creditability, rethinking of educational emphasis, alternative education, expanded use of public facilities, a voucher plan for educational financing, and tax policies with enabling educational incentives.

1. E. Nolan Waller, "Education: Some Rewards and Considerations," Mississippi Business, 34 (August, 1975), p. 1. For extensive discussion of the returns to "investment" in education, see B. F. Kiker (ed.), Investment in Human Capital (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1971).

2. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1974), p. 882.

3. James Morgan, et al, Income and Welfare in the United States, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962), p. 447.

4. James E. Wall, Influential Factors Concerning Human Resources in Mississippi (State College: Mississippi State University, Social Science Research Center Preliminary Report No. 11, 1966), p. 1.

5. Roger A. Freeman, The Growth of American Government (Stanford, California, Hoover Institution Press, 1975), p. 14.

6. Thomas Naylor and James Clotfelter, Strategies for Change in the South (New York: Scribners, 1975), p. 77.

7. Charles H. Anderson, The Political Economy of Social Class (Prentiss-Hall, 1974), p.99.

8. Since the arithmetic sum of lifetime earnings overstates the present value of an individual, discounting (converting the stream of earnings into its present value) is employed to measure the economic value over a period of time. Social Security Administration, Research and Statistics Note, "1972 Lifetime Earnings by Age, Sex, Race, and Education Level," Note No. 14 (September 30, 1975), p. 3. Part of this differential may be due to the fact that the more educated are likely to be more able, irrespective of education. Paul Taubman, "Earnings, Education, Genetics, and Environment," Journal of Human Resources, 11 (Fall, 1976), pp. 447-461. Also, it has been suggested that the importance of edcuation clearly increases when fringe and nonpecuniary benefits are added. Greg J. Duncan, "Earnings Functions and Nonpecuniary Benefits," Journal of Human Resources, 11 (Fall, 1976), pp. 462-483.

9. Waller, pp. 2-5.

10. Current Population Reports, "Characteristics of American Youth, 1974," p. 23, No. 51 (April, 1975), p. 7.

11. Ford has pointed out that if education is to play a role in regional development, then the area that incurs the costs of the

education must receive some return from the education provided within its borders. When the industrial infrastructure of a region is such that increased educational levels are not utilized within the borders and the area is one of net out-migration of the more educated, then the consequences of the education will be perverse for the region in question in that it incurs the cost of education but incurs no significant return except in the expenditures to support providers. Arthur Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1973), p. 63. Bevins argues that nonfarm areas should bear more of a share educational costs in rural areas since the former gain the productive workers which the rural areas lose. See R. J. Bevins, "A Measurement of Agriculture's Public Investment in the Education of the 1940 Decade Farm-Nonfarm Migrants." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1962.

12. Morgan, p. 361.

13. Price maintains that the increasing educational differences between white and blacks in the South are in part due to the higher out-migration rates of better educated blacks. Daniel O. Price, "Educational Differentials between Negroes and Whites in the South," Demography, 5 (1968), pp. 23-33. Hamilton has observed that between 1940 and 1950 out-migration from the South was selective of the most poorly educated whites but the better educated blacks, and that the effect of net migration from the South was to lower the educational level in both areas of origin and destination. C. Horace Hamilton, "Educational Selectivity of Migration from Farm to Urban and Other Non-Farm Communitites," Social Forces, 38 (October, 1959), pp. 33-42. Hamilton has observed that more recent migration indicates that in-migration of whites may be differentially selective of the better educated. The Changing Population of the USA South (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina, Carolina Population Center, 1970).

14. W. L. Hansen, et al., "Schooling and Earnings of Low Achievers," American Economic Review, 60 (June, 1970); G. G. Bachman, "Anti-Dropout Campaign and other Misantropies," Society, (March, 1972); J. Whisenton and M. Loree, "A Comparison of the Values, Needs, and Aspiration of School Leavers with those of Nonleavers." Journal of Negro Education, " 39 (Fall, 1970), pp. 325-332.

15. Hapgood contends that the education industry

> ...adopts a benevolent attitude toward the average man. It does not hard-sell its product. Though there is undoubtedly more propoganda for school than for Chevrolets or deodorants, the tone is more genteel than commerical. School is there, after all, for the average man's good - to give him an opportunity his parents never had. As we have seen, there is just enough truth

> in that statement to make it convincing to the great majority of Americans. The corollary is that if the average man does not stay in school and ends up screwed, it's his fault, not that of the system. He dropped out and became a factory worker when he could have stayed in and become a doctor (physician). This process is known in another kind of con game as "cooling out the mark". When two con men finish skinning their victim, or mark, the one who posed as his ally will often stay with the victim to convince him that it's useless to call the cops: that is cooling out the mark. Similarly, the education industry cools out its mark by convincing him he is to blame if he did not grab the brass ring promised him by school. This is another sign of progress in a democratic society. It used to be that the average man was doomed to be a loser simply because he was born in the wrong class: it was the system that did it to him. Now he is screwed by the shell game of the diploma - and persuaded that it's nobody's fault but his own.

David Hagood, The Screwing of the Average Man (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1974, pp. 172-173.

16. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 81.

17. 5.3.6. Selective Service, Office of Economic Opportunity, Application for Community Action Program, CAP Form 5, p. 2. Cf: Richard Neufville and Caryl Conner, "How Good are our Schools" American Education, (October, 1966), p.4.

18. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 81.

19. Susan Stodoksky and Gerald Lesser, "Learning Patterns of the Disadvantaged," Harvard Educational Review, 37 (1967), p. 582.

20. James Coleman, "Equal Schools for Equal Students," Public Interest (July, 1966), p. 73.

21. Wilbur J. Cohen, "Education and Learning," Annals, 373, (September 1967), p. 89.

22. F. Ray Marshall and V. L. Christian, "Human Resources Development in the South," in H. B. Ayers and Thomas Naylor (ed.) You Can't Eat The Magnolias (New York: McGraw Hill), p. 250.

23. Ibid.

24. Charles R. Boland, The Improbable Era: The South Since World War II (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975), pp. 97-100. "The building boom that began in the Eisenhower years produced large secondary schools all over the country. These large, comprehensive facilities became some of the leading wonders of the education world, the pride of the school boards and administrations who passed the levies and pushed the plans. Or at least so it was before vandalism, school crime, easy drugs, ...swept over the scene. Those large buildings quickly appeared less like monuments to opportunity and learning than corrals for the unruly, inviting disaster...the main effort of the high schools was to create a "critical mass" that stimulated dope, crime, and hostility to school." E. F. McGowan and D. Cohen, "Career Education -- Reforming School Through Work," Public Interest, 46 (Winter, 1977), p. 33.

25. Paul P. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems (Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 307.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. James S. Coleman, et al, Equality of Educational Opportunity (DHEW, 1966).

29. Christopher Jencks, et al, Inequality, A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

30. Roger A. Freeman, The Growth of the American Government (Stanford: Hover Institution Press, 1975), p. 15.

31. Illustrative reports include: Office of Economic Opportunity, An Experiment in Performance Contracting, (Washington: OEO Pamphlet 3400-5, 1972); Sol Gordon, "The Bankruptcy of Compensatory Education," Education and Urban Society, 2 (August 1970), pp. 366-370; John F. Cauley, et al, Performance of Head Start and Non-Head Start Participants at First Grade," Journal of Negro Education, 39 (Spring, 1970), pp. 124-131.

32. Horton and Leslie, p. 312. It might also be pointed out that larger government spending on education does not necessarily result in higher total spending for education. Milton Friedman, There's No Such Thing as a Free Lunch, (LaSalle, Illinois: Open Court, 1975), p. 264.

33. Hapgood observes that other than being "a crime without a criminal, a used car without a dealer," (in the sense that "The infernal machine proceeds with no one in the driver's seat" so that "If the average man looks inside the education machine to identify who's putting it to him, he'll find out no one is there", and in that "the education industry doesn't intend to

screw its victims"), the education industry resembles the more familiar kinds of hustle:

> ...It is financed mainly by third-party payments, and so the average man has little or no say over who gets his money. It is run by experts, and so the average man is not allowed to criticize their performance. It is a monopoly, and so the product is standardized, shoddy and overpriced (though the monopoly cost is expressed in years instead of dollars). The wordnoise that protects education is especially deafening - louder than the noise that surrounds its two main rivals, government and automobiles.
>
> Education is, most of all, the place that the average man cannot avoid...The average man cannot even escape more school. Measured by time, school is growing faster than any other occupation, including watching pro football. At any given time about one third of the American population is in school in one form or another, and it seems probable that the average man's years in school are growing faster than his life expectancy.

Hapgood, The Screwing Of The Average Man, pp. 154-155.

34. Some may argue that the 40% of the time the citizen labors to support the State represents "time". This has been contrasted with the circa 30% of the product extracted by the manor lords from the medieval serf.

35. Hugh Calkins and Jeffrey Gordon, "The Right to Choose An Integrated Education: Voluntary Regional Integrated Schools - A Partial Remedy for DeFacto Segregation," Harvard Civil Rights - Civil Liberties Law Review, 9 (March, 1974), p. 196.

36. Free public education is misnomer in the sense that education is an extremely costly commodity that is a major portion of the budget of local governments. Public education is "free" in the sense that the student himself, excepting miscellaneous fees and charges, does not pay a tuition. Whether such a system is less costly or more efficient educationally than a system of proprietary schools which pay taxes to the community is open to question. In 1977 educational activities knocked off over 60% of Mississippi's general fund appropriations. Commission of Budget and Accounting, State of Mississippi Budget, Fiscal Year 1977, p.5.

37. Medford Evans, "Adherence to Standards Essential to Education," Simpson County (Ms.) News (April 7, 1977), p. 2.

38. R. C. Grist, "Social Class and Teacher Expectation: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," *Harvard Educational Review*, 40 (August, 1970), p. 411-454.

39. Colin Greer, *The Great School Legend*, (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

40. Murray Milner, *The Illusion of Equality*, (Jossey-Bass, 1972).

41. Horton and Leslie.

42. Robert J. Staff and Gordon Tullock, "Education and Equality," *Annals*, 409 (September, 1973), p. 125.

43. Even so, Hapgood suggests that "support for the basic idea of the Gilligan proposal (described below) -- unthird partying the bill -- seems to be growing as more and more parents, even in the upper middle class, find themselves unable to pay tuition for their children and think that...even the kids (sic) themselves should pick up the tab." However,

> The third-party system evidently enjoys general approval. At least Governor John J. Gilligan of of Ohio must feel it does. A few years ago, Gilligan proposed that Ohio's public colleges raise their tuition to cover the entire cost of schooling, and that the state provide enough loan money so anyone could go to college and later pay back the cost out of those extra earnings his diploma would bring him. The purpose was to make the beneficiary, rather than the public, bear the cost of college. The idea was too good: the Ohio school establishment shouted that it would set public education back a hundred years, and Gilligan's proposal went down the drain.

Hapgood, p. 165. For an example of similar hysteria, see "Politics in the Classroom," in E. Brown and B. Brown, *Reagan: The Political Chameleon* (New York: Praeger, 1976), pp. 68-87.

44. Hapgood feels that the well-to-do

> ...as usual have been quicker than the average man in seizing the opportunity to get their career credentials at someone else's expense. According to a study by W. Lee Hansen and Bartion Weisbord, free public higher education in California benefits the well-to-do at the expense of those of lower income. The wealthy collect more in free schooling than they pay in taxes, the rest pay more than they collect... Governor Ronald Reagan pushed through tuition for the state universitites against liberal opposition, although the effect of tuition was to make the wealthy pay more of their share. The

> fact that Reagan was doing the average man a favor seems to have been kept from everyone...

Hapgood, The Screwing of the Average Man, pp. 163-164.

45. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 120.

46. Friedman, pp. 261-262.

47. Staff and Tullock, p. 126.

48. Ibid., p. 127.

49. As Staff and Tullock pointed out, the poverty or well-being of the parents is frequently confused with the well-being of the student himself. The point is made in West's paper "Efficiency versus Equity in Higher Education," of a physician whose income had a present value of about one million dollars, who pointed out that subsidation of his education was justified because his father was an agricultural laborer. Quite so, but "it is not clear why the class status of the father is relevant in determining whether or not this physician should have been given a gift by the state that generated one million dollars of wealth." Staff and Tullock, p. 127.

50. Ibid., p. 132. Will states that "Sometime after the Second World War the Government, figuratively speaking, went down to the basement of the bureaucracy, and there consulted the entrails of a chicken. From these it divined a clear-and-present "need" for a rapid and vast expansion of higher education. Before long Government subsidies produced a vast expansion of graduate schools, and this produced an army of teachers. A ready supply of students was generated by keeping tuition costs far below the actual cost of the edcuation to the recipient. But the number of faculty jobs and dormitory rooms expanded faster than the supply of competent people to fill them. Hence we faced a classic welfare state "crisis." Such a "crisis" exists when the Government is having trouble concocting a supply to match the demand it has concocted. The "crisis" was a paucity of competent people to produce and consume the decreed amount of education. The result was not the rational one - to reduce the decreed spending. Rather, the result was another decree: change the idea of competence. At the production end, scholars were allowed to redefine the scholars' task. They fashioned an egalitarian definition - one which would exclude no one, and therefore would not produce the embarassing "crisis" of an insufficient supply of competence. Henceforth the scholar's task would be hand-holding - to have "meaningful human relations" with students. This solved the other half of "crisis" at the consumption end: it redefined the idea of the competent student. A student is competent if he has his "own thing" to be done...

The welfare state suddenly found that a...revision of the meaning of "competence", created an elastic supply of "competent" faculty and students - a supply sufficient to sop up the government's expenditures.

But just to be on the safe side, a movement was begun to water down admissions policies and grading standards - just a bit of insurance to see that the supply of diluted "competence" can keep pace with the deluge of Government funding. This is how an artificial, Government-decreed "demand" for more education produced an odd supply of students and faculty. The result is that today, after a quarter of a century of government action, we now have universities teaching remedial reading courses." Will adds that "Most university students come from families in the upper income brackets. Furthermore, as a result of their education, these students will receive higher lifetime earnings than those persons -- largely from poorer families -- who have not gone to a university. But university students pay a negligible share of the cost of their education. This cost is born by the taxpayers, with low income taxpayers contributing an amount far in excess of the benefits their children receive."

George F. Will, "Welfare State - An Incompetent Leviathan," in David Brudnoy, Alternatives (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1973) p. 124.

51. Young, claiming that "The pervasive philosophy that no young person be denied the fullest possible education because of finances should be expanded to include adults," observes:

> ...one limitation (on the power of higher education to alleviate social and economic inequities) has been that the use of education as a tool for social change has concentrated on minority youths rather than on adults. Studies have shown, however, that higher education for adults promises more immediate and greater returns on investment time and money.

Young feels that "the mother on welfare represents an untapped source" for colleges and universities "and that, as well, higher education offers a viable means for ending dependence on welfare and for making more women productive members of society. Higher education offers at least some mothers an opportunity to enter professional fields and to develop more fully their individual abilities." Barbara H. Young, "Higher Education for Welfare Mothers," Social Work, 22 (March, 1977), pp. 114-118. While the "low income mothers" in Young's sample "viewed college as an important alternative to the poor," an issue of some consequence is raised by the prospect of laboring persons, unable or uninterested in attending college themselves, forced into further servitude to support educationalist escapades of welfare mothers. On the other hand, however, such persons do labor for the benefits of athletically privileged persons who are accorded the most luxuriant boarding and nurture that the educational system can provide, or by the paying of active military persons to further educationist activities, and by paying college students under the rubric of a "G.I.Bill." Young noted that older mothers in particular benefitted by attending college. Ibid., pp. 116-117.

52. Committee for Economic Development, Education for the Urban Disadvantaged from Preschool to Employment, (New York: CED, 1971), p. 15. Naylor and Clotfelter suggest that "Community colleges have become the primary vehicle for social and economic advancement for the lower two-thirds of the population" while the universities "cater to a relatively homogenous group from a dominant stratum of society." p. 159.

53. Staff and Tullock, p. 127.

54. Illustrative of this concern has been effort among civil rights groups and poverty lawyers to eliminate discriminatory tests for hiring which are irrelevant to the jobs performed. "The Supreme Court recently outlawed the use of 'irrelevant' educational credentials to deny people jobs, but there is no evidence that the decision has had any great impact." Hapgood, The Screwing of the Average Man, p. 171.

55. "Still, most of us have been convinced of the basic learn-and-earn equation: income rises with years in shcool. We are bombarded with studies showing those hundreds of thousands of extra dollars earned by college graduates...Now comes Christopher Jencks in his book Inequality to challenge the validity of learn-and-earn. This careful study by Jencks and seven others produced results upsetting to the education industry...Jencks found that the return on education comes not because the educated are more productive, but becasue their diplomas give them access to higher-paid occupations; within any given occupation, there is no evidence that those with more school or better grades earn more. So, of course, if there is no more room in the well-paid occupations, your payoff on school might well be down around zero. Jencks is skeptical about the notion that the average man can make it to the promised land via school:

> Rate-of-return estimates do tell us that efforts to keep everyone in school longer make little economic sense. The average rate of return for pose-secondary education is quite low. For the kinds of students who are not now in college, it is even lower. For working-class whites, blacks and women, dropping out seems in many cases to be the most economically rational decision.

Ibid., pp. 160-161. Also see G. D. Squires, "Education, Jobs, and Inequality," Social Problems, 24 (April, 1977), pp. 436-447.

56. McGowan and Cohen, "Career Education," p. 30.

57. Hapgood feels that "Career Edcuation" is the contemporary term for wielding prospective employees into shape for the assembly line. While that opinion may be somewhat rhetorical, there may be validity as well as license in his claim that

> The school was brought about mainly by the efforts of people outside the industry. Do-gooders, observing that some school was good for a few people, decided that a lot must be good for everybody. Unions saw compulsory education as a way to keep low-priced teen-agers off the labor market, and guilds of course saw more school as a means of restricting membership and keeping prices up. Industry had its own reasons for favoring more school. In the nineteenth century, much of the pressure for compulsory public schooling came from industrialists. Industry figured school would give its future employees their first taste of discipline. Let school break them in, discarding those that refuse to fit, and industry would get - free - a docile labor force. Nowadays...more school is needed, we are told, because a modern economy requires more people with more advanced skills. Of course that target has already been overshot - the average man stays in school far longer than needed to acquire the skills involved in the job for which his diploma will qualify him. Besides, the process is extremely wasteful. Each industry could train people in the particular skills it needs in a fraction of the time it takes schools, including trade schools, to do the job. But this doesn't matter to industry: it has successfully shifted to others the cost of preparing, sorting and grading its labor force. The cost is paid twice over by the average man in two kinds of currency. He sits in school to learn in two years what he could have learned on the job in six months, and he pays the cost of school either in tuition or taxes. But industry profitted: he paid for the twenty-four months, while his future employer got the six months worth of training free.

58. McGowan and Cohen have observed that "grand hopes such as those for career education fail to produce much in practice" since "the dreams of informal learning and community education regularly fall victim to the realities of a complex and formal racial division of labor." Among the objections to structural change in the relationship between work and school enumerated

by them are: 1) Business barriers (business is not structured for teaching, does not want responsibility for educationalist estovers, and sees "partnership" with the schools as an exchange of visits and provision of speakers on different kinds of work); Labor barriers (labor perfers more formal education for more people rather than letting youth out of school and into the workplace any sooner, and is particularly afraid of competition which may reveal the true market value of protected activities); and Professional ambivalence ("...most educators are troubled about declining enrollment that puts more teachers out of work") "Professionals (sic) and their organizations thus oppose new programs that threaten to reduce enrollments deliberately" and prefer to retain a captive market, while teacher-training institutions are lukewarm to an idea which does not add to existing "disciplines" High school guidance counselors, occupying a job whose functionaries have long struggled to legitimize and dignify by working mostly with college bound youth, are said to be resentful that "career education has come along and guidance staff are back working with blue collar kids (people)."

59. Ibid., pp. 34-42.

60. McGowan and Cohen note that while classroom teachers attempting to survive until they can escape with a retirement income "would like to get difficult children out of their classrooms, it seems risky in a time of enrollment decline and job shortages." Labor seems to have a vested interest in limiting serious work opportunities for adolescents. Furthermore, rather than seeing work as exciting and liberating, labor likes to see itself as exploited by routine and mundane activity and to feel "education" (euphemistic expression for limiting competition) should prepare adolescents to "fulfill themselves, to understand and appreciate our culture, to become informed consumers. People don't necessarily fulfill themselves on the job." Ibid., p. 44.

61. Ibid., p. 47.

62. Patterson states the decade of the 1960s was a time of belief in a never-ending spiral of higher education leading to higher jobs. The boom of the 1960s may be said to have given way to the bust of the 1970s as "educational inflation" occurred wherein higher credentials, bearing little if any relationship to job performance,were required in order to fence out potential competitors for jobs and to take advantage of and absorb the inflated supply." Michelle Patterson, "Government Policy and Equality in Higher Education,: Social Problems, 24 (December, 1976)., p. 172. Berube observes that "while education is no longer a growth industry, there are too many prospective students: two and one-half aspiring public school teachers for every teaching job, and ten Ph. D.'s for every college teaching job." However, the legislature needs to guard against this imbalance being the cause for imposing ever increasing educational requirements, such as increasing the amount of education re-

quired to teach school. Maurice R. Berube, "The Revolt Against College," Commonwealth (April 15, 1977), p. 233.

63. Naylor and Clotfelter, Strategies for Change in the South, p. 105. Roland, The Improbable Era, pp. 98-100, 118. No opinion is expressed as to the collective moral veracity of expending gigantic sums to build football stadiums and athletic feeding, boarding, and personal service mechanisms and facilities at universities or for athletic expenditures in high schools while comparatively neglecting the handicapped. Perhaps it is an application of the principle that most important needs should be the first satisfied.

64. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 110

65. Congressional Record (February 11, 1977), S2675. "The wisdom of the law in requiring that early education projects function to stimulate States to use their own resources is clearly evident in the growth of these projects over the last few years. Over the last four years, the number of these projects has more than tripled. ...It was only several years ago that a mere 15 States had legislation for preschool handicapped children's education." Ibid.

66. "School Role In Poverty Contested," New York Times, (January 8, 1973), pp. 55-56.

67. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 121.

68. Harold O. J. Brown, The Reconstruction of the Republic (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington House, 1977), p. 62.

69. Even so, some improvements were noted. Blacks, students from the southeast, and those from low income urban areas improved considerably in their ability to negotiate help-wanted adds. While less than 80% knew what an "Equal Opportunity Officer" was in 1971, this figure rose to over 94% in 1975. Economic Opportunity Report, 12 (January 24, 1977), p. 12. In Washington,D.C., the valedictorian of the senior class at Western High School, a predominantly black school, was turned down by George Washington University because he lacked the most rudimentary academic skills. The superintendent was quoted as saying that,"with discipline a major problem in the schools, a nice kid (person) might have his grades inflated." "Black Education: How Good?" New York Times. Special Section, "Fall Survey of Education and Career Development," November 14, 1976.

70. Evans,noting recent legislative endorsement of a "required attendance bill" coupled with arguments for an "open admissions policy" before a House Committee,suggests an example of "the educational system wrestling with...how to adjust conflicting claims of compulsion and permisiveness" with the chance that the result will be an absurdity: "...everybody may be required to attend school...they will not be required to learn anything." Medford Evans, "Open Admissions Policy:

A Cover-Up for Failure," *Simpson County* (Ms.) *News* (March 31, 1977) p. 2. Evans states that "the education budget cannot be indefinitely escalated if the public discovers that high school graduates don't know anything." Thus, he states, "open admissions policy for tax-supported colleges and universities is a great help to those who...conceal the failure of our public system to qualify students for reasonable college work, and, increasingly, the failure of our colleges to qualify graduates for much of anything." *Ibid*.

72. Horton and Leslie, p. 331.

73. Renstrom,noting that college costs have skyrocketed in recent years, opines that "what really hurts is the change in emphasis from 'merit' to 'need' to qualify for financial aid. It used to be that the students who dug in and got the grades received the financial aid." Renstrom contends that the change in scholarship philosophy has both punished "the old American virtues of hard work and thrift" while, at the same time, it has driven middle-class students from educational opportunity. Richard C. Renstrom, "Rewarding Failure," *Freeman*, 24 (September, 1974), p. 519.

74. *Manpower and Vocational Education Weekly*, 6 (April 7, 1975), p. 10.

75. For discussion of the subculture "spawned out of the cornucopia funding grants available wherein, according to Wagner, "You start life on a variety of mini-welfares and then, as a 'student' grow so inured to such support that you are ready to slip into welfare itself, or one of its equivalents, on graduation," see Geoffrey Wagner, "Fund One, Fund All," *National Review*, 29 (March 18, 1977), p. 325. Persons having been in an armed service for 181 days automatically receive a bonus of $380 to $400 a month of taxpayer support from the VA, plus $24 for each dependent. Wagner feels that one becomes resentful "when it its suggested that similar handouts may not be available throughout life" and that "one reason why our colleges have so diluted their degree ...is that college is less an academic matter than a branch of welfare" with the purpose of "keeping a large, potentially dissident group of (voting) citizens quiet for a few more years, until they become eligible for more mature grants and funding." *Ibid*.

76. For extensive discussion of "family poor equalizing" through a voucher system and its "subsidiarity" (pluralistic decision making in the interests of diversity and locality) see Joseph H. Cooper, "The Dollars and Sense of Public Education," *Urban Lawyer*, 6 (1974), pp. 138-163. For discussion of the Court imposed limitations in educational matters by putting a standardized type of public education in a preferred market place position, see John E. Nowak, "The Supreme Court, the Religion Clauses and the Nationalization of Education," *Northwestern University Law Review*, 70 (1976), pp. 683-909. Nowak is of the opinion that "there is little hope that the children of the poor will be pro-

vided meaningful religious or educational freedom" as long as the judiciary seeks to prevent religious groups grom acting on behalf of what they perceive as their own interests. "The Court ordered nationalization in pursuit of social goals through publically funded education does not allow for pluralism. Hopefully, the Court will one day alter its position and allow States to provide alternative forms of funding." Ibid., p. 883. Nowak's examination particularizes the effect of the ban on meaningful enabling legislation for alternative schools at the State level on the educational opportunities of children in low-income families.

77. For a serious discussion of the current inequities in financing the educational system and State attempted remedies, see E. G. West, Nonpublic School Aid: The Law, Economics, and Politics of American Education (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1976).

78. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 171.

79. Ibid., p. 110.

80. Ibid.

81. Committee on Economic Development, Raising Low Incomes Through Improved Education, (New York: CED, 1965), p. 46.

82. Sar Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor for the 1970s (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1973), p. 136.

CHAPTER 9

POVERTY AND AGING

People, plants, and animals show characteristic changes with advancing age. The visibility of the age process is such that one may easily age-grade individuals. Each man's clock of time moves inexorably. However, the passing of the years does not bring the same result to all, for other clocks -- psyche, social, cultural, -- also chronicle the life of man. One may be regarded by his peers as old in his early thirties; another may be young in his profession and among his associates decades later. Any man's age is told by the calibrated and adjusted combination of the various facets of age measurement of the "clocks."[1]

When young, we worry little about old age. Thomas Gray expresses this in his "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College."

> Alas, regardless of their doom
> The little victims play
> No sense have they of ills to come
> Nor cares beyond today.

There comes a time in the process of the unfolding of the life cycle when we are confronted with the prospect of aging in an intimate and personal way, furled upon us by a combination of internal changes and the changed reactions perceived in the social environment. But until then the sense of futirity makes it seem, in Caroline Mason's words,

> Like the wild lunacy of dreams
> To picture in prophetic rhyme
> That dim, far-distant, shadowy time
> So distant that it seems o'erbold
> Even to say, "When I am old."

Curtin[2] has commented that it is not just vanity that makes people hate growing old. Every aspect of human life undergoes some change as the years march on: the structures and functions of the body gradually become impaired; motivation, perception, emotions alter; the person's position in society and adjustment to surroundings and other people are affected. A writer in Newsweek[3] observes:

> ...If you're 30, you're already a little slower than you were just a few short years ago. If you're 40, check your hairline, your neckline and your waistline. If you're 50, take a look at a photo of yourself ten years ago. If you're 60 or older, you don't need any guidelines -- aging has been all too obvious for a long time.

An 80-year old person may designate those in the seventh decade of life as"young whipper-snappers," and refer to the "old folks down the street" who turn out to be 85 years of age. Perhaps a basic thesis is being expressed. That is, aging is a process. Before individuals are old, they must become old. In this sense, aging and development are synonymous. In Shakespeare's expression,

> Each day we ripe and ripe
> Each day we rot and rot
> And thereby hangs a tale.

THE OLDER POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Size and Growth of the Aged Population

About one of every ten Americans has reached his 65th birthday. 1975 population estimates indicated over 22 million older Americans out of a total population of some 213 million. In 1900, the census counted 3.1 million older persons out of 76 million residents. This was only 4.1% of the population, or one out of every twenty-five Americans. While the total population in 1975 was nearly three times larger than the 1900 population,the number of persons age 65 or beyond was seven times larger than in 1900. There are so many more older Americans because more people are reaching old age; however, once old age is attained, life expectancy is not much longer than it was in 1900.

TABLE 1

POPULATION OVER 65 (Millions), UNITED STATES, 1900-1975

Year	All Ages	65+ Number	65+ Percent
1900	76.0	3.1	4.1
1910	92.0	4.0	4.3
1920	105.7	4.9	4.7
1930	122.8	6.6	5.4
1940	131.7	9.0	6.8
1950	151.3	12.3	8.1
1960	179.3	16.6	9.2
1970	203.2	20.0	9.9
1975	213.1	22.4	10.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

The older population is equal to the total population of our twenty-one smallest states. A century ago (1870) the aged numbered only 1.2 million (2.9 percent of the total). By the year 2000, given current trends, there will be a minimum of 28 million Americans aged

65+ and, if birth rates keep falling, the older Americans will make up well over 10 percent of the population. In income, health, housing, and every other vital consideration, there is tremendous variation among the aged as to their comparative status, possessions, and level-of-living.

Recent Changes in the Aged Population

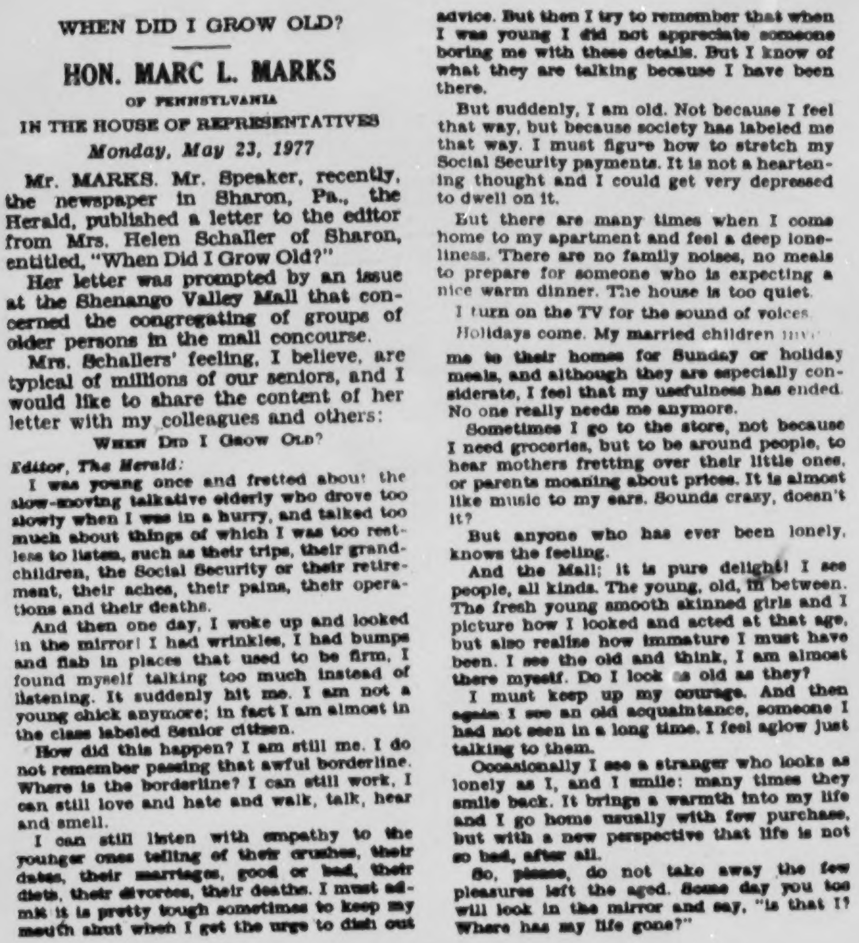
The 1970 census revealed that the 65-and-over population grew faster than the rest of the population during 1960-1970 (21.1 percent vs. 12.5 percent). In the 10 years between the 1960 and 1970 censuses, almost 14.2 million Americans celebrated their 65th birthday. Added to the 16.6 million already 65+ in 1960, this meant that there were almost 31 million different people in the older population in the United States at some time during the decade. During these 10 years, almost 10.7 million persons who were already 65+ in 1960 or who reached age 65 between 1960 and 1970, died. Thus, there was a net increase of 3.4 million older people, boosting the count from 16.6 million in 1960 to 20.0 million in 1970.[1]

If we selected a representative sample of exactly one hundred 75+ people, it would include 41 men and 59 women; 24 of the 41 men but only half as many, 12, of the 59 women,would be married; 14 of the 41 men but three times as many, 42, of the 59 women would be widowed; the other 3 men and 5 women would be single or divorced. Although twice as many aged men as women are married, only a third of them have 75+ wives. About half have wives between 65 and 74 years of age and a fifth have under-65 wives. Roughly four-fifths of the 75+ wives have 75+ husbands. An adventurous 3 percent have husbands under 65 years of age. Brotman estimates that in an average year there will be almost 2,000 75+ brides and more than 6,000 75+ grooms going to the altar and moving out of widowhood; over 4,000 marriages will involve under-75 partners. Among the 75+, almost three quarters of the men and over half of the women live in a family setting, either with or without a spouse present; more than a third of the women and a fifth of the men live alone or with non-relatives, and only 6 percent of the men and 8 percent of the women are in institutions. Of the 56 widows and widowers in 100 representative 75+ers, the bulk are almost evenly divided between those living alone and those living in a relative's home, a few are heads of their remaining families, and a few live with nonrelatives or in institutions.

Persons aged 75 through 79 in 1970 numbered about 4 million.[5] They contituted more than half of those over 75. They were born in the 1890s. Half had only an elementary education or less. They were married by World War I and had begun a family or served in that war or both. Many of their cohorts and acquaintances were victims of the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919. They were in middle-adulthood in the "Roaring Twenties," They were adults in the prime of Ty Cobb, Babe Ruth, Bill Tidden, and Red Grange. In their lifetime they saw the development of all weather roads , the airplane, the air conditioner, central heating, frozen foods, even men on the moon. They raised their children in the economic crisis of the 1910s and the boom of the 1920s, entered what probably should have been their years of highest earnings

FIGURE 1

THE EXISTENTIAL MEANING OF AGING



WHEN DID I GROW OLD?

HON. MARC L. MARKS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1977

Mr. MARKS. Mr. Speaker, recently, the newspaper in Sharon, Pa., the Herald, published a letter to the editor from Mrs. Helen Schaller of Sharon, entitled, "When Did I Grow Old?"

Her letter was prompted by an issue at the Shenango Valley Mall that concerned the congregating of groups of older persons in the mall concourse.

Mrs. Schallers' feeling, I believe, are typical of millions of our seniors, and I would like to share the content of her letter with my colleagues and others:

WHEN DID I GROW OLD?

Editor, The Herald:

I was young once and fretted about the slow-moving talkative elderly who drove too slowly when I was in a hurry, and talked too much about things of which I was too restless to listen, such as their trips, their grandchildren, the Social Security or their retirement, their aches, their pains, their operations and their deaths.

And then one day, I woke up and looked in the mirror! I had wrinkles, I had bumps and flab in places that used to be firm, I found myself talking too much instead of listening. It suddenly hit me. I am not a young chick anymore; in fact I am almost in the class labeled Senior citizen.

How did this happen? I am still me. I do not remember passing that awful borderline. Where is the borderline? I can still work, I can still love and hate and walk, talk, hear and smell.

I can still listen with empathy to the younger ones telling of their crushes, their dates, their marriages, good or bad, their diets, their divorces, their deaths. I must admit it is pretty tough sometimes to keep my mouth shut when I get the urge to dish out advice. But then I try to remember that when I was young I did not appreciate someone boring me with these details. But I know of what they are talking because I have been there.

But suddenly, I am old. Not because I feel that way, but because society has labeled me that way. I must figure how to stretch my Social Security payments. It is not a heartening thought and I could get very depressed to dwell on it.

But there are many times when I come home to my apartment and feel a deep loneliness. There are no family noises, no meals to prepare for someone who is expecting a nice warm dinner. The house is too quiet.

I turn on the TV for the sound of voices.

Holidays come. My married children invite me to their homes for Sunday or holiday meals, and although they are especially considerate, I feel that my usefulness has ended. No one really needs me anymore.

Sometimes I go to the store, not because I need groceries, but to be around people, to hear mothers fretting over their little ones, or parents moaning about prices. It is almost like music to my ears. Sounds crazy, doesn't it?

But anyone who has ever been lonely, knows the feeling.

And the Mall; it is pure delight! I see people, all kinds. The young, old, in between. The fresh young smooth skinned girls and I picture how I looked and acted at that age, but also realize how immature I must have been. I see the old and think, I am almost there myself. Do I look as old as they?

I must keep up my courage. And then again I see an old acquaintance, someone I had not seen in a long time. I feel aglow just talking to them.

Occasionally I see a stranger who looks as lonely as I, and I smile: many times they smile back. It brings a warmth into my life and I go home usually with few purchase, but with a new perspective that life is not so bad, after all.

So, please, do not take away the few pleasures left the aged. Some day you too will look in the mirror and say, "Is that I? Where has my life gone?"

Source: Congressional Record (May 23, 1977), p. E3189.

in the depression of the 1930s; saw their children off to World War II; retired in the 1950s; saw their grandchildren to Korea or subsequent battlefields. They are remnants of and represent a continuity with an historic era that today survives only in records and reminiscences, in museum artifacts and in generational lineages.

MISSISSIPPI'S OLDER POPULATION

During 1960-1970 the Mississippi population increased for each age interval age 55 and above[6] Mississippi's population age 55-59 increased by 9.3%, age 60-64 by 28.6%, age 65-69 by 14.6%, age 70-74 by 12.1%, and above age 75 by 23.5%. Between 1900 and 1975 the aged population of Mississippi increased from 45,000 to an estimated 253,400 persons, an increase from 2% to 10.1% of the population. (Table 2). This segment of the population increased by 14.6% during the first half of the 1970s.[6]

TABLE 2

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION AGE 65 AND OVER
MISSISSIPPI, 1900-1970

	NUMBER	PERCENT
1900	45,000	2.0
1930	77,000	3.7
1940	115,418	5.3
1950	152,964	7.0
1960	190,000	8.7
1970	222,320	10.1
1975	253,400	10.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

It has been stated that "increase in the number of aged persons intensifies the problems that Mississipi faces in caring for the financial, medical, and housing needs of its senior citizens."[7] There is little doubt that large numbers of aged persons present problems for themselves and the society in which they inhabit. However, it may be that to a significant degree so-called "problems of aging" are cumulative in nature and are more the result of the way in which society is organized than they are indigenous to the state of being aged. Solution of other societal problems would eliminate some of the problems which may become more visible with age, while solution of other problems of the social structure at large (such as access to and financing of medical care) would reduce the compounding of these inadequacies of the social structure with advancing age. The gravamen of this opinion is that to place the problems to which increased age may give heightened visibility or even increased incidence on the state of aging itself may deflect attention from the true sources, which may to a large degree be the cumulative creation or product of the way society is organized, not an intrinsic or an inevitable part part of aging *per se*.

There is a tendency to lump all the aged into one homogenous category. In reality, however, there is more dissimilarity among the chronologically aged than among younger cohorts. To view the older population as chronologically ill, impoverished, dependent, and in need of the accoutements of welfare is severely misleading to the extent that it focuses only on the negative characteristics of a group which is actually more heterogenous than are younger age groups. Many of the aged are healthy, wealthy from a lifetime of accumulation in an optomistic economic environment, and thoroughly independent. To a large extent "problems"[8] of the aged may be viewed within the following perspective:

1. The presence of large numbers of the aged in the population is not necessarily problematic, socially, economically, or aesthetically.

2. Regardless of how idealistic the adjustment of the aged in terms of personal health and autonomy, the process of natural attrition means that eventually many persons will require medical care and support services which are more characteristic of persons in older age groups.

3. Social institutions and social services delivery systems need to be structured to provide for the needs of all persons who are disabled from self-sufficiency and who are dependent, regardless of age.

4. Some of the welfare problems associated with age are not so much decrements due to the aging process as they are to disabilities which have always been characteristic of the person, or to a social milieu which discriminates against the aged.

5. Many problems of the aged may be due to faulty social organization which has affected the individual throughout life, such as an economic structure in which the individual grows old in poverty or which through changes in the price structure (inflation), or through failure to provide societal mechanisms to protect the individual from catastrophic illness or dependency, make the aged particularly susceptible to the threat of poverty.

Attitudes Toward Age and Aging

Thus while it is true that the aged as a group may have a higher collective incidence of medical need, the problems presented by the aged are not independent of the societal structure which to a large degree gives built-in features to the problems associated with the aging process. As previously noted, the aged as a group are more dissimilar than are younger cohorts. To classify the aged as a group in pejorative terms is both misleading and a reflection of the tendency to evaluate the aged and aging with negative stereotypes.

Denigrating cultural attitudes toward the aged are reflected in the tendency to conceptualize their increased presence as problematic beyond the mere logistical demands which may be more characteristic of the aged than of other groups.[9] This tendency toward insensitivity to the aged is very frequently exhibited in fears regarding their influence in other areas as well as the economic. Hollman, on the premise that "aging and conservatism go hand-in-hand,"[10] advises that "The U.S. and Mississippi could possible become more conservative as their populations become older, and as the aged have a larger electoral voice," and that "Mississippi could be entering a phase in history when the traditional conservative attitude of the aged overwhelms the vaunted progressivism...with a stagnant attitude so often associated with the elderly."[11] Aside from the fact that there is no linear relationship between aging and conservatism, the body politic might benefit from an infusion of interest and activity by the aged. Butler contends that "one of the remarkable things about older people is their generosity and concern for people other than themselves."[12]

RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGED POPULATION

Black Aged in the United States

The 1970 census enumeration showed a total of 22.7 million blacks, or 11.2% of the total balck population. This was an increase of 3.8 million since 1960 when the figure was 18.9 million or 10.5% of the total population. The black population made up nearly 20% of the total U.S. population in 1790, but had decreased to 9.5% in 1930.

In 1970 the black aged accounted for 7.8% of all aged in the United States. Some 6.9% of the black population, compared to 10% for whites, was aged 65 or beyond. The aged black population increased from 1.2 million in 1960 to 1.7 million in 1970. Since this was a higher rate of growth than for the total black population, the aged accounted for a larger percentage of the black population in 1970 than in 1960 (6.2%). Like the white population, older women outnumber older men, and the discrepancy is increasing. The ratio of females per 100 men rose from 115.0 in 1960 to 131.0 in 1970. The ratio for blacks of all ages is circa 110, compared with 105 for whites.

There is some evidence to suggest that aged blacks may enjoy some advantages relative to whites. Once obtaining advanced age, black life expectancy is greater than for whites. The accepted explanation seems to be that sociocultural deprivation results in eariler deaths of blacks who may be physiologically disadvantaged.[13] Roberts[14] has suggested that the black aged, compared with white aged, generally feel more accepted by their children and receive more assistance from them. Others have similarly suggested that features of the black culture foster successful adaptation among the black aged.[15]

The Black Aged in Mississippi

The total black population of Mississippi decreased by 11% during the 1960s. However, the black aged population of Mississippi grew by 7.7%. Mississippi's percentage increase in its black aged population was among the lowest in the United States (rank 48th). Nevertheless, Mississippi was the eighth ranking state in 1970 in terms of the size of the aged black population. Mississippi's aged black population in 1970 was 79,208.

TABLE 3

AGE COMPOSITION OF THE BLACK POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI
1970 AND PERCENT CHANGE, 1960-1970

All Ages	
Number	815,770
% Change 1960-1970	-10.9
Age 45-64	
Number	129,832
% of all Ages	15.9
% Change 1960-1970	-13.1
65 and Beyond	
Number	79,208
% of All Ages	9.7
% Change 1960-1970	+7.7

Source: Herman B. Brotman and B.S. Williams, "State Trends 1950-1970," Facts and Figures on Older Americans, No. 6 DHEW Publication No. (SRS) 73-20007.

ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE AGED

The aged represent a tremendously significant element of the American economy.[16] The ramifications of their economic role is seen in national employment and retirement policies, as participants in the work force, as a market for consumer goods and services, and as a clientele toward whom programs of economic significance are directed.[17] Projections and studies of trends[18] in retirement income lead to conclusions ranging from a worsening "retirement income crisis" to the contra position that public measures such as Social Security and Medicare have, or soon will with minor incremental adjustment, eliminate the most severe deprivations experienced by the aged. One simulation projection of income in old age concludes that in 1980 about half the couples and more than three-fourths of the unmarried retirees will receive $3,000 or more in annual pension income (which excludes income from rentals, agricultural subsidies, investments, etc.). According to this projection three-fourths of the couples would receive pension incomes of $4,000 or less and one in eight would have more than $5,000 pension income alone.[19]

In spite of the harsh and undeniably visible poverty among a segment of the aged, to depict the aged as a group as impoverished is as misleading as to stereotype them as decrepit *en banc*. Furthermore, *the fact that older individuals have lower incomes than younger persons is not necessarily an indication of a comparatively disequalized economic status*. *Many can be regarded as "poor"* *only because asset holdings have been disregarded*. However, when the aged *are* "poor" (that is, not only income-poor, but also asset-poor), *their* predicament is perhaps one of the harshest when compared with income-poor and asset-poor younger persons, for many of the latter have both hope and a realistic prospect of future income, attributes which are often denied the aged.[20]

Two circumstances have been particularly favorable to the aged: 1) Their ability to assume ownership at a time when land prices, construction prices, and interest rates were much lower so that a larger percentage of relatively lower economic status perhaps had more exercisable options to maximize satisfaction in an older market, and 2) The inflationary spiral which has perhaps in toto accrued to the peculiar benefit of the aged, particularly with respect to appreciation of property.[21] It is little wonder that older people generally do not consider housing to be a source of dissatisfaction.[22]

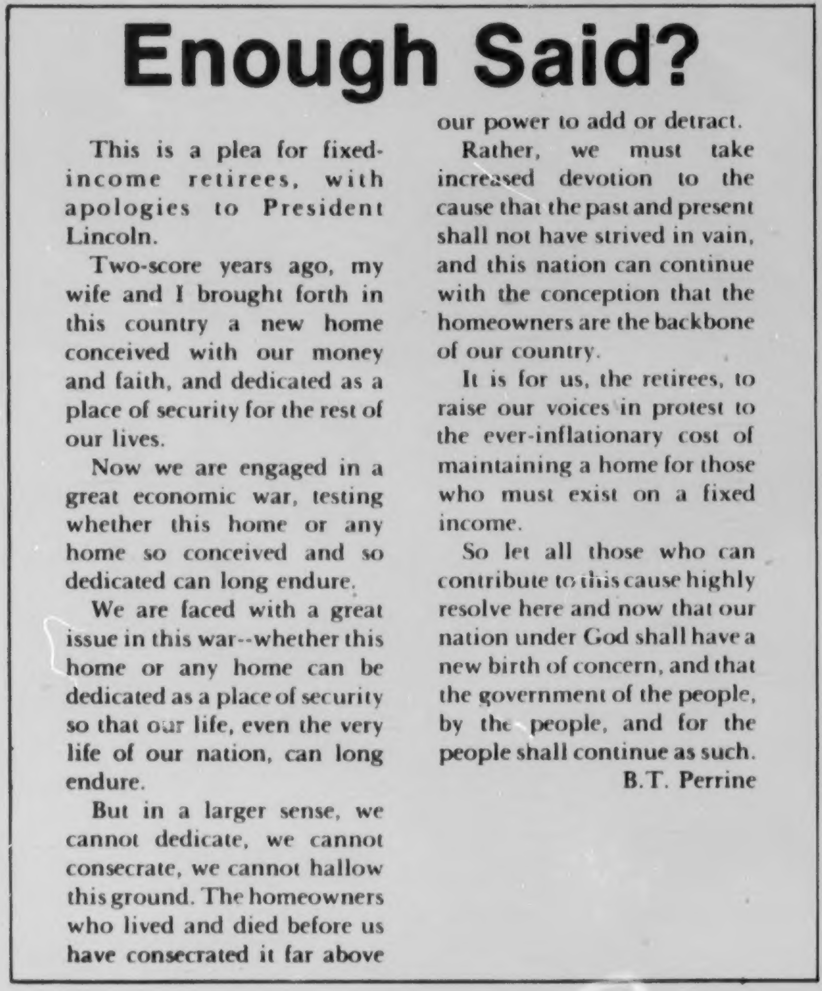
As Chen has pointed out, the measurement of poverty in terms of a dollar income figure tends to distort the economic status of the aged in terms of poverty as an inability to satisfy needs. If asset value as well as money income is taken into consideration, the economic circumstances of aged units, in terms of incidence of poverty, is markedly altered. When the aged are considered poor in accordance with a fixed income level some of them should not be so considered because their consumption requirements tend to decline with age. When the aged are considered poor according to a flexible income measure (i.e., family size, geographical locality) some among them are relatively well off on a reduced dollar income.

Comparative Discretionary Income

The older person is commonly considered a stable economic force. Banks and savings and loan associations count the retired person as a good credit risk. His "fixed" income may consist of assured payoffs --Social Security, pensions, annuities, and dividends from low-risk stocks and bonds. Income requirements for the aged are likely to be less than for younger persons. Garvin and Burger[23] suggest that even at $3,000 a year the elderly couple has a "relative" affluence. In relation to a person's needs at that age, $3,000 is five or six times as effective as it is for head of a growing family. Banks recognize this fact by allowing up to 40 percent of retired persons' income as

FIGURE 2

TAXATION AND THE ECONOMIC SURVIVAL OF AGED HOMEOWNERS



Enough Said?

This is a plea for fixed-income retirees, with apologies to President Lincoln.

Two-score years ago, my wife and I brought forth in this country a new home conceived with our money and faith, and dedicated as a place of security for the rest of our lives.

Now we are engaged in a great economic war, testing whether this home or any home so conceived and so dedicated can long endure.

We are faced with a great issue in this war--whether this home or any home can be dedicated as a place of security so that our life, even the very life of our nation, can long endure.

But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The homeowners who lived and died before us have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract.

Rather, we must take increased devotion to the cause that the past and present shall not have strived in vain, and this nation can continue with the conception that the homeowners are the backbone of our country.

It is for us, the retirees, to raise our voices in protest to the ever-inflationary cost of maintaining a home for those who must exist on a fixed income.

So let all those who can contribute to this cause highly resolve here and now that our nation under God shall have a new birth of concern, and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall continue as such.

B.T. Perrine

Source: Original, Toledo (Ohio) Blade. This item, photographically reproduced from Ohio's Heritage (Ohio Commission on Aging, 9 (May - June, 1977), p. 18.

as a monthly mortgage payment, as against 20 or 25 percent for anyone else. A study by Tongren[24] notes that aged persons, benefitting from State and federal income tax allowances, exemptions or reductions in real estate property taxes, absence of responsibility for dependents, elimination of the responsibility for the Social Security tax, home ownership, differentials in medical costs as a result of medicare, etc., have more discretionary cash than might be expected from their incomes. An aged family with $5,000 income will actually be doing as well as a younger couple earning forty percent more.

A study by Kerr [25]which sought to examine projected changes in the income structure and price levels for different categories of goods and services in 1970, 1975, and 1980 as to whether average disposable income for families in the over-65 age group will increase, remain stable, or decrease, indicated that average family disposable income should increase from circa $4,680 in 1965 to approximately $7,000 in 1980. Though their surplus position would not be as good as the surplus position of those families in the 45-54 age group--the period in the life cycle when disposable income is likely to be highest --families in the over-65 age group "should be relatively better off in 1980 than in 1965."

Families in pre-retirement years (55 to 64) seem in position to spend the smallest proportion of their income for consumption. Furthermore, only slightly larger proportions of persons 65 and beyond than of middle-aged persons draw upon savings. People with low income whatever their age, are likely to spend most of it for current consumption. However, even with income controlled, older people spend comparatively smaller proportions of their income. The major factor seems to lie in the reduced size of older families.[26] Decreasing family size is associated at most age levels with lower proportions of income expended. However, even with family size held constant, older families tend to spend less than those families in the middle years. Many of the aged have already acquired necessities for which younger families are still making effort to purchase.

Average family expenditures start to decline somewhere around ages 55-64. Savings (excess of income over expenditures) appear to occur among the 55-64 group because expenditures begin to decrease. Savings are largest, on the average, in the age category 45-64. Goldstein[27] states that only when their income level is markedly reduced, with the resulting need to spend relatively more for the more essential categories of consumer goods and services, are older family units forced to make sharp changes in the patterns of expenditures to which they were accustomed.

The expenditure-to-income ratio[28] for older persons reflects a composite of two conflicting tendencies: 1) concentration of older people in low-income categories tends to raise their overall ratio and increase the proportion of income spent on specific items of consumption, while 2) other variables associated with increasing age tend to depress the overall ratio of income expended.

Legislative and administrative surveys and hearings have repeatedly documented the thesis that many older Americans are worried and angry about economic problems over which they have no control. But then so are others who are struggling to pay off their mortgages, provide education for their youngsters, perhaps contribute to the support of an aged parent, and maintain the exigencies and responsibilities of living in a modest proced suburb (i.e.,expensive) who have little margin of excess of income over outgo to save in provision for the "golden years". Such overburdened persons[30] may look less than favorably on continued transfers of their earnings in direct income transfers like Social Security or other means of administering financial assistance (such as further tax concessions to the elderly) for which they have to pick up the burden.[31] Nor are such persons likely to be impressed with contention that more public emoluments must be directed to the aged since "because they have more free time, their recreation costs could be higher"[32] as a convincing argument why they should shoulder increasing burdens.

Extremes of Wealth and Poverty

With many visible exceptions, for many people less money in old age is as certain as wrinkles and taxes. When an individual retires his income frequently drops by 60 to 80 percent. Prices go up. Savings begin to evaporate. Older Americans scavenging food in garbage cans or eating dogfood is not unheard of. People over 65 are about twice as likely to be poor as people under 65. Some are poor people who have grown old. Others have grown poor because of the circumstances of aging.

There is an even greater imbalance in the wealth of the aged than in the imblalnce of wealth among the population at large. The $15,000 2-room cooperative apartments in retirement villages and ownership of blue-chip stocks is little consolation to the immense group of older Americans living in old hotels in the blighted areas of major cities or in urine-soaked doorways of buildings. Garvin and Burger[33] poignantly note that sometimes discovery of the impoverished aged is dramatic as when one of them is occasionally pictured in morning papers on the day after Thanksgiving or Christmas or

> ...when a downtown hotel fire routes them into the street in their night clothes. But their comings and goings are usually as predictable as the tides. They wash up onto the marble stairways and portices of libraries in the morning and recede with the setting sun to alleyways and curtainless windows over pawn shops.

Contrasted with the abject misery and isolation of many oldsters, the affluent aged illustrate a caste system on a grand scale. Economically, the aged are victim and benefactor of the economic system. Those who have already gotten the major expenditures--house purchase, family raising, etc.--behind them benefit from the prosperous crests of an affluent society. The extremes where the affluence of some contrasts with the abject misery of many presents a picture of caste polemities in graphic relief.[34] It is not necessary to look at the extremes to realize the great inequality in financial affairs among the aged. On the one hand, there are those upper-class aged whose discretionary cash increases, while at the same time some of their number (particularly those who have suffered the sudden setback of medical costs)are illustratively represented in the following statement to the Senate Special Committee on Aging by a man who had retired several years earlier due to his health.

> There is only my wife and I, and the Social Security pension for both of us amounts to only $1,920 a year, and from this amount we have to pay real estate taxes --water and gas and electricity--and for fuel oil. After these items have been taken care of we eat from the meager amount remaining. We cannot afford three full meals each day so we manage on one good meal. The prices of meat are outrageous and to have a roast or steak once a week is beyond our reach.[35]

AGE AND POVERTY IN MISSISSIPPI

TABLE 4

POVERTY STATUS OF FAMILIES WITH HEADS AGE 65 OR ABOVE, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	ALL FAMILIES		FAMILY HEAD AGE 65 OR ABOVE FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
Total	87,648	16.4	43,345	49.5
White	54,637	14.6	20,357	37.3
Black	32,927	20.7	22,972	69.8

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970, "General Social and Economic CHaracteristics, Mississippi," pp. 26-168.

Approximately one-half of the families in Mississippi in 1970 whose head was 65 years of age or older reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level (table 4). This compares with 16% of such families in the nation as a whole.[36] The proportion of aged poor in Mississippi varies considerably by race and living arrangement. While 37.3% of the white families with an aged head lived in poverty, this was true for 69.8% of the black families with an aged head.

The relationship between age and poverty is further explored in Table 5. The frequency of incidence of poverty for persons in families whose head was age 65 or over was twice the frequency of incidence of poverty for families whose head was 25-64.

The frequency of incidence of poverty among aged persons was at least 30% regardless of residential distribution. For each category of aged persons, the proportion with incomes below the poverty level was greater for the rural farm and nonfarm than it was for the urban population. Table 7 shows the distribution of poverty among family members by age. Younger (under 25) and Older (65 and beyond) were more likely to be poor, but aged family members are less likely to be severely poor than family members under 25.[37]

TABLE 5

PERCENT*FAMILIES WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVELS, BY AGE OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	AGE OF HEAD		
		Under 25	26-64	65 or OVER
TOTAL	29%	25%	25%	50%
WHITE	16	15	12	37
BLACK	59	53	57	70

*Rounded

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970. "Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi," PC(1)-D26, Table 207.

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF PERSONS AGE 65 AND OVER WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	STATE	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM
All Family Members	46.8	33.9	57.5	44.8
Family Heads	49.7	37.0	60.0	47.4
Other Than Heads	43.3	30.2	54.4	41.7
Unrelated Persons	76.1	68.7	84.7	74.4
Unrelated Males	73.8	66.0	80.9	70.5
Unrelated Females	77.0	69.4	86.2	77.4

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative Interpretation: 37% of urban family heads age 65 or over had incomes below the poverty level; 30.2% of urban aged persons other than family heads lived in families with incomes below the poverty level.

TABLE 7

RATIO OF FAMILY INCOME TO POVERTY LEVEL FOR FAMILY MEMBERS, FAMILY HEADS, AND OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS, BY AGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	RATIO OF INCOME TO POVERTY LEVEL*		
		Under .50	.50 to .74	.74 to .99
All Family Members				
Under 25	38.8	18.5	11.0	9.3
25-44	22.1	9.1	6.5	6.5
45-64	26.8	11.5	8.0	7.3
65 and over	46.8	15.2	17.8	13.8
Family Heads				
Under 25	25.0	11.6	6.5	7.0
25-44	23.1	10.4	6.3	6.4
45-64	26.8	12.3	7.6	6.9
65 and over	49.7	17.3	18.7	13.7
Other Family members	35.2	15.7	10.4	8.9

*Percent of all income levels for specified population category.
Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970

SUMMARY

The aged represent a tremendously important segment of the American economy. Projections and studies of trends in retirement income lead to conclusions which range from a worsening "retirement income crisis" to the contrary position that the aged are relatively well off,having had the opportunity to acquire goods (such as land and dwellings) in a more optimistic economic environment. Though lament is often expressed at the plight of the aged who live on "fixed" incomes,critical observers point out that the "fixed" may be more appropriately assigned to certainity of receipt rather than alleged inadequacy since income from government financed programs consistently increases. In terms of home ownership, property accumulated, and vested pension rights, the aged as a group may be seen to fare rather well. They have also benefitted from unearned increments and increased land valuations. At the same time, the earning potential by actual work and effort among the aged decreases considerably from that of younger cohorts.

One-half of the families in Mississippi in 1970 whose head was 65 years of age or older reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level. Over one-third of the white families and over two-thirds of the black families whose head was age 65 or above were poor.

1. Shock has pointed out that the concept of aging, like those of truth, beauty, or freedom, is blithly used, but defies a precise definition that is at once acceptable to everyone. While a valid truism, the difficulty is more in articulating a precise expression which includes and excludes all relevant variables to everyone's satisfaction rather than in understanding what is meant by the concept of aging. We use the term "aging" as a general description of the biological, psychological, and sociological change which transpires between points in time. Whatever else aging may be, it is an inevitable and irreversible process of complex changes. Palmer designed a way of defining old age by ranking the percentage of males in any given task by five year age levels. In any given occupation the percentage levels build to a certain level then begin to diminish, sometimes radically, for those in advancing years. This breaking point where the percentages begin to decline suggests a critierion of aging peculiar to that particular aggregate or social group. In the American labor force the break from the norm occurs after the age 60. Other occupations might show the deviation from the norm beginning at another time. For instance, a baseball player is old at thirty-four; a sharecropper is not old until nearly seventy by the Palmer scale. Nathan W. Shock. "The Role of Religion In Solving the Problems of the Aged," *Gerontologist*, (1961), p.14; Edward Palmer, "Toward A Sociological Definition of Old Age." *American Journal of Sociology*, 59, (1953), pp. 28-29.

2. Sharon R. Curtin, *Nobody Ever Died of Old Age* (Boston: Little Brown CO.), p. 15.

3. *Newsweek* (April 16, 1953), p.56.

4. *As You Like It*, II. vii.

5. Herbert Brotman, "Useful Facts" and "Facts and Figures on Older Americans", AoA, various issues.

6. The fact that persons age 60+ in 1970 were born in a period of conparatively high birthrates to those age circa 30-40 would tend to increase the aging pattern of the population, migration aside, while the high birthrates subsequent to World War II would tend to retard aging. Concentration of out-movement in the young adult categories would tend to promote aging in the area of origin. Since increased longevity has occurred primarily among younger age groups, particularly through the control of infectious diseases of childhood, the effect of mortality has increased the number of aged persons, but has probably had an indeterminate effect on the proportion of the aged.

7. Kenneth W. Hollman, *Mississippi's Population, (1960-1970): General Characteristics* (Oxford: University of Mississippi, 1971), p.24.

8. Certainly, there is a context in which the aged may present a particular problem, such as large numbers of persons on retirement. However, much of this may be due to an artifact of societal making, such as the decreasing proportion of workers paying increased social security taxes to an increasing proportion of recipients which has been officially marketed as "insurance" even though it operates as a pass-through program paid for by current production. Furthermore, after all preventable disease is prevented, the problems of unpreventable disease, disability, and chronic illness remain. However, the social structure should be organized so as to deal with these needs in maximally efficient fashion and not compound the pathologies.

9. For example, simultaneous with the tendency to automatically view the presence of increased numbers of aged persons as undesirable has been the tendency to conceptualize the out-migration of young people as undesirable. There is little tendency to think in terms of the benefit of the out-migration (which has proportionately reduced problems of congestion and demands for attendant public services, has probably helped keep prices lower by reducing demand, and has likely contributed to increases in the State's per capita income, all suggestive that out-migration has hardly been problematic at all). Furthermore, from a crass economic perspective, the aged consume goods and services, all of which create a demand for providers, the same as any other group.

10. Hollman, Mississippi's Population, p. 28. Barron has observed that interpretation of the aged as a political menace is a common prejudice. One academician has asked whether the constitution should be amended to provided for a maximum voting age, while another has suggested that all persons lose their vote after retirement, at age seventy, or at fifty-five if they cross State lines. Milton L. Barron, The Aging American (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1961), pp. 58-59; Douglas J. Stewart, "The Lesson of California: Disenfranchise the Old," New Republic (August 19, 1970), pp. 62-65.Cf.: Robert Butler, Old Age in Your Nation's Capitol, "Aging and Development, 2 (1971), p. 199.

11. Hollman, Misissippi's Population, p. 28. Butler has pointed pointed out that words, expressions, and concepts are used without forethought to convey perjorative impressions and stereotypes of the aged which would no longer be tolerated if applied to ethnic minority groups. Robert Butler, "Socity's Responsibilities to the Elderly," Hearing Before the Select Committee on Aging, House of Representatives (November 11, 1975), p. 10.

12. Butler, Ibid., p. 4.

13. Mollie Orshansky, "The Aged Negro and His Income," Social Security Bulletin, 27 (1964), pp. 3-13.

14. R.E. Roberts, "Ethnic and Racial Differences in the Characteristics and Attitudes of the Aged in Selected Areas of Rural Louisiana (M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1964).

15. It has been suggested that the matriarchial family structure and the visibility of áged women as household heads may tend to bestow authority on the aged. Messer, who studied a sample of black aged residents in a low income public housing area in Chicago, found that aged black residents were considerably more likely than whites to show a high morale. When health and race were examined simultaneously, it was observed that blacks rated as having poor health were as likely to score "high" on morale as did whites who enjoyed good health. Messer found that level of education was negatively related to morale for both whites and black respondents. A possible interpretation is that people with a relatively high education levels but whose incomes are low enough to qualify for public housing have lower morale due to this discrepancy in status.

    Striking racial differences were found in response to the questions, "How do you think of yourself as far as age goes?" Approximately two-thirds of the white respondents denied being old (claiming to be "still young" or "middle aged"), while only 38% of the blacks gave this response. Blacks between the ages of 62 and 69 were more likely to think of themselves as "elderly" or "old" than whites who were eighty years old or more. When presented with the question of whether they thought a rich old man or a poor young man to be "better off", 57% of the black said that a rich old man was better off, but only 29% of the whites made that choice.

    Messer specualted that since the aged blacks had been segregated from the over-all societal process throughout their lives, they may well think of themselves as having lived through the worst of it and thereby enjoy an increased measure of personal satisfaction. Whites, on the other hand, having had a less problematic relationship to the larger social order in youth and adulthood, may be more reluctant to sever their sense of relationship with it. Since the over-all societal value system places consideralbe emphasis on "productivity" and they have outlived the "productive" phase of the life cycle, the elderly whites may sense stigma in old age more keenly than blacks, thus reducing their morale and imposing a denial of their advanced age. It has also been suggested that the black aged may enjoy relatively greater status and security. This may be due to a lower proportion of aged blacks in the population plus a folk-culture milieu wherein the aged may be judged as having more mystical qualities which command reverence (such as midwivery or root-doctoring). Mark Messer, "Race Differences in Selected Attitudal Dimensions of the Elderly," Gerontologist, 8 (1968), pp. 245-249. Cf.: J. Jackson, "The Blacklands of Gerontology," Aging and Human Development, 2 (1971), pp. 156-172. On the other hand, it has been suggested that youth centeredness may be an even more pronounced feature of black than white society. See Floyd M. Wylie, "Attitudes Toward Aging and the Aged Among Black Americans: Some Historical Perspectives, "Aging and Human Development 2 (1971), pp. 66-70, and Donald P. Kent, "The Negro Aged," Gerontologist, 11 (1972), pp. 48-51.

16. United States Senate Special Committee on Aging, Economics of Aging: Toward a Full Share in Abundance, Part I--Survey Hearing, (Washington: W.S. government Prinitng Office, 1969).

17. Herman E. Brotman, Facts and Figures on Older Americans. SRS-AoA Publication No. 181.

18. Y.P. Chen, "Economic Poverty: The Special Case of the Aged," Gerontologist 6 (1966), pp. 39-45; Cf.: J. Xurray, "Potential Income from Assets," Social Security Bulletin, 27 (1964), pp. 3-11; J.N. Morgan, "Measuring the Economic Status of the Aged," International Economic Review, 6 (1965), pp. 1-17.

19. See James Schulz, "The Economic status of the Retired Aged in 1980: Simulation Projections," Research Report No. 24 of the Social Security Administration, U.S. Dept. of HEW (January, 1968) "The Future Economic Circumstances of the Aged: A Simulation to 1980," Yale Economic Essays, 7 (1967), pp. 145-212.

20. It may be noted that a generational phenomenon is involved in the sense that younger inheritors who make a wise choice of their progenitors are also benefitted by the fortuitious circumstances of an opportunity structure to themselves acquire such resources at young ages.

21. A crystallizing of the opportunity structure may be seen in the fact that contemporary individuals of a relatively higher economic status are unable to purchase property that current aged owners were able to purchase though having somewhat inferior actual or even relative dollar incomes, thus freezing out the former from opportunities to which the aged had access. This is not the place for discussion of the interface or factors which have been responsible. But it might be noted briefly that a high percentage of elderly landowners draw rental income from property in addition to "soil bank" emoluments and that only a minute portion of land released by retiring farm operators is available to beginning farmers (John Schmidhauser, "The Political Influence of the Aged," Gerontologist 8, 1968, p. 453) and that the average national increase in the price of farm land during the year ending in March, 1972, was 8 percent (L.A. Parcher, "The Farm Real Estate Market," Oklahoma Current Farm Economics 45 (2/3, 1972)p. 26).

22. Maurice B. Hamovich and James E. Peterson, "Housing Needs and Satisfactions of the Elderly," Gerontologist, 9 (1969), pp. 30-32.

23. Richard M. Garvin and Robert E. Burger, Where They Go to Die: The Tragedy of America's Aged (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968), 133-149.

24. Hale N. Tongren, cited in U.S. News and World Report (May 24, 1971).

25. John Kerr, "Income and Expenditures: The Over-65 Age Group," Journal of Gerontology, 23 (1968), pp. 79-81. Kerr's proposed surplus of average disposable income relative to expenditures for families in the over-65 age group through 1980 represents a contradiction of the widely accepted belief that these families will suffer as a result of projected higher price levels for all goods and services.However,the creeping inflation of the 1960s which crescendoed into a heinous flight in the 1970s may have seriously distored otherwise accurate projections.

    Although the majority of elderly persons own their homes, over one-half of the elderly homwowners live in units which are over 30 years old. Renters among the elderly live in units even older than those of homeowners. The Effects of Rising Energy Prices on the Low and Moderate Income Elderly (Washington: Federal Energy Administration, March, 1975), p.17.

26. Even the savings by younger families might be somewhat misleading in that such savings may represent under-the-bottom rather than off-the-top savings wherein the savings are required in order to accumulate a base from which to be able to go into debt.

27. Sidney Goldstein, "Consumer Patterns of Aged Spending Units," Journal of Gerontology, 14 (1959), p.332.

28. For general studies in this area, see P. O. Steiner and R. Dorfman The Economic Status of the Aged (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957); L. Clark (ed.), Consumer Behavior: The Life Cycle of Consumer Behavior (New York; New York University Press, 1960); Sidney Goldstein, Consumption Patterns of the Aged (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960); "Changing Income and Consumption Patterns of the Aged, 1950-1960," Journal of Gerontology, 20 (1965), pp. 453-361; "Negro-White Differntials In Consumer Patterns of the Aged, 1960-1961," Gerontologist, 11 (1971), pp. 242-249; "Urban and Rural Differentials in Consumer Patterns of the Aged, 1960-1961," Rural Sociology, 31 (1966), pp. 333-345; D.C. Wedderburn, "Economic Aspects of Aging," UNESCO International Social Science Journal, 15 (1963), pp. 3930409.

29. United States Senate Special Committee on Aging, *Action on Aging Legislation* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 10.

30. See Richard Lemon, *The Troubled American* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), or the comments pp. 393-396 of Lionel Lokos, *The New Racism* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1971). Cf.: Michael Lerner, "Respectable Bigotry," *American Scholar* (Autumn, 1969), pp. 606-617; Leonard Kriegel, "Last Stop in the D Train," *American Scholar* (Spring, 1970), pp. 272-288; Andrew N. Greely, "Turning People Off," *New Republic* (June 27, 1970), pp. 14-16.

31. On the other hand, pressure for assistance to the aging may come largely from the working aged children who wish to deflect the costs of caring for progenitors onto the public, a very understandable sentiment even if, perhaps, illustrative of the adage that "one mother can take care of ten children, but ten children cannot take care of one mother." For discussion of the efficacy of efforts to ameliorate the economic straits of the aged via the tax system, see Y.F. Chen, "Income Tax Exemptions for the Aged as a Policy Instrument," *National Tax Journal*, 16 (1963), pp. 325-336; "Low Income, Early Retirement, and Tax Policy," *Gerontologist*, 6 (1966), pp. 35-38.

32. *Action on Aging Legislation*, p. 3.

33. Carver and Burger, p. 156.

34. It is in such context that Erich Fromm's "there is a great danger that the aged might become *super-consumers*" whose greatest problem is how to kill time painlessly takes form. Calvin Trillen, "Wake Up and Live," *The New Yorker* (April 4, 1964); *U.S. News and World Report* (May 24, 1971); "Retirement Housing, *House and Home* (April, 1963); "Widening World of Retirement Towns" *Life* (December 8, 1963); "The Retirement City," *Newsweek* (August 3, 1963).

35. *Action on Aging Legislation*, p. 3.

36. Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie. *The Sociology of Social Problems* (Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 345.

37. As shown in Table 7, the proportion of severe poverty (ratio under .50 of the poverty threshold) is higher among family members under age 25. It may be for those persons circa 35-45 that poverty is most likely to be severe both as an economic and a psychological problem. For persons in this age bracket, the prospects for future improvements in income are generally not optimistic, financial responsibilities, burdens, and

expectations have generally increased, reference group members in their cohort have usually become established economically and have made headway into provisions of consumer comfort and extended economic security, and the structure of the social system is such that opportunities for alternative behavior (from joining the military or the police force to acquiring education for a profession to obtaining a job with optimistic career channeling) are severely limited. It may be for this group and those dependent upon them that poverty is most severe in its direct and indirect impact. They may well comprise the bulk of those who suffer the hardships commonly associated with poverty. By contrast, young families who are poor by a current dollar income measure may be just beginning their income cycle. Many are in the luxury of studenthood, some receiving receiving parental and/or various forms of public sustenance. Their expected future income anticipates the likelihhod of a much higher standard of living. Friedman has suggested that among the elderly their previous opportunities for property acquisition and other assets may make the elderly as a class substantially better off than the low-income figures would indicate. Rose Freidman, Poverty: Definition and Measurement (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1965), p.39. In 1975, families with a head 65 years of age or beyond reported median incomes of $8,057, a 7.4% increase over 1974. This amount was just about cancelled out by raging inflation. Families headed by persons in so-called prime working years (age 25-64) had an increase ($800) that was 145% of the increase reported in families with an aged head; however, after adjusting for inflation, the median income for families age 25-64 actually declined by 3% or nearly $500. The principal cause in the relative "improvement" of the income situation for elderly families contrasted with younger families has been attributed to the increase in social security transfers taken from the working population. In late 1974 and early 1975 welfare redistributions in the form of "social security" were escalated by 11% over previous levels and were increased an additional 8% in June 1975. Between 1974 and 1975 the median income of earning workers increased by 7%, some two points less than the rise in overall price levels. Donald G. Fowles, "Income and Poverty Among the Elderly: 1975, Statistical Reports on Older Americans (Washington: HEW,OHD,AoA, April, 1977). A recent report by the Congressional Budget Office indicated that the extent of poverty among families and unrelated individuals of all ages could be cut by 40% by including the cash value of in-kind income. Among the elderly (65 and beyond) this decrease would be as large as nearly 70%. John J. Korbel, Poverty Status of Families Under Alternative Definitions of Income (Congressional Budget Office, Background Paper No. 17, January 13, 1977).

CHAPTER 10

POVERTY AND HOUSING

Perhaps nothing is more genuinely American than owning one's own home, one's own plot of ground, one's own share of the great big country. It is, Downie states, part and parcel of the American dream, the legacy of our agrarian past.[1] Housing is one of the major economic elements of an area in terms of its effect upon the total ecenomy, its influence in the attraction of industry, and its relationship to cultural amenities.[2] Housing is both an economic and a social phenomenon. Adequate, affordable housing is a basic quality of life indicator.

HOUSING INDICATORS IN MISSISSIPPI

Mississippi Compared with the Nation

Table I provides basic housing data for Mississippi and the United States for 1960 and 1970. The percentage of housing units which were owner occupied increased from 57.7% in 1960 to 66.3% in 1970, an indication of improvement in Mississippi's housing situation during this time. A more direct measure is the population per household, which decreased from 3.8% in 1960 to 3.4% in 1970.

The percentage of units with 1.01 persons per room is a good measure of housing size. Mississippi's housing situation improved considerably in this regard, decreasing from 23.5% in 1960 to 15.1% in 1970. However, Mississippi still seemed to have a greater problem in overcrowding than the United States as a whole.

Two-thirds of all housing units in Mississippi had telephone service in 1970, compared to less than one-half (45.3%) in 1960. The proportion of housing units with all plumbing facilities in Mississippi in 1970 (77.3%) was considerably lower than the national figure, and was the lowest of all States in the Southeast. The deficit can be traced primarily to poor housing in the delta area.[3] Mississippi shows a severe deficiency in the lack of units which are fully plumbed.

Despite almost universal recognition of the fundamental human desire and need for adequate housing, the quest for safe and sanitary dwellings for moderate and low income families is one of the most complex internal challenges to the nation.[4] To "solve" the housing problems would probably involve an all around drastic reduction in building costs for material, financing, and in the profit taking of developers, all of which "would involve major institutional changes and exact costly penalties from many vested interest groups." [5] Some 27.3% of the year-round housing units in Mississippi in 1970 were

TABLE 1

SPECIFIED HOUSING DATA, MISSISSIPPI AND THE UNITED STATES, 1960-1970

	POPULATION in HOUSEHOLDS	NO. of HOUSEHOLDS or TOTAL OCCUPIED UNITS	POPULATION per HOUSEHOLD	OWNER-OCCUPIED UNITS (PERCENT)	1.01 PERSONS per ROOM or MORE (PERCENT)	TELEPHONE AVAILABLE (PERCENT)	WITH ALL PLUMBING FACILITIES (PERCENT)	ALL HOUSING UNITS	HOUSING VACANCIES (PERCENT)
MISSISSIPPI									
1960	2,156,352	568,070	3.8	57.7	23.5	45.3		628,945	7.2
1970	2,159,220	636,724	3.4	66.3	15.1	67.4	77.3	699,150	8.7
UNTIED STATES									
1960	175,263,469	53,023,875	3.3	61.9	11.5	78.5		58,326,357	6.1
1970	197,399,913	63,449,747	3.1	62.9	8.2	87.3	94.0	68,679,030	6.2

Source: Economic Development Approaches for the South, (Atlanta: Engineering Experiment Station, Industrial Development Division, Georgia Technology Institute, 1973), p.32.

housing units in Mississippi in 1970 were delapidated and/or lacked some or all plumbing facilities, a significant improvement over the 48.7% of the 1960 census.[8]

AGE AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

Tables 2 and 3 compare Mississippi and the national population on specified housing characteristics by age of household head. Mississippi's population compares favorably with the nation in owner occupancy and in the proportion of one unit households. Households with aged heads fare better than younger families in terms of owner occupancy. However, plumbing deficiencies are more pronounced among elderly Mississippi householders, and are more characteristic of households with elderly than with younger heads.

TABLE 2

SPECIFIED HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS, BY AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD, MISSISSIPPI AND THE UNITED STATES, 1970

AGE OF HEAD	OWNER OCCUPIED		ONE UNIT STRUCTURE		INADEQUATE PLUMBING*		1.0 PERSONS PER ROOM	
	U.S.	MISS.	U.S.	MISS.	U.S.	MISS.	U.S.	MISS.
Under 60	60.7	63.5	69.7	84.0	4.4	18.7	10.4	19.4
60-64	71.0	74.0	71.9	90.5	7.0	25.7	2.6	7.4
65-	67.5	71.7	67.1	88.5	9.1	31.4	1.4	4.4

*Lacking some or all plumbing facilities.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Housing: 1970 Final Report HC (7)-2, Housing of Senior Citizens, pp. 517-518.

A similar pattern is revealed for the black population (Table 2). Compared with national averages, a higher percentage of Mississippi blacks are home owners, and much higher proportions live in one unit structures. However, inadequate plumbing facilities is a more pronounced problem in Mississippi, indicating that Mississippi has considerable progress to be made in order to reach national norms in this regard. Comparison of tables 2 and 3 show that blacks in Mississippi fare worse than whites in percentage of owner occupancy, in percentage of units which lack some or all plumbing facilities, and in crowdedness.

TABLE 3

SPECIFIC HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS, BY AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD BLACK POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI AND THE UNITED STATES, 1970

AGE of HEAD	OWNER OCCUPIED		ONE UNIT STRUCTURE		INADEQUATE PLUMBING		1.01 + PERSONS PER ROOM	
	U.S.	MISS.	U.S.	MISS.	U.S.	MISS.	U.S.	MISS.
Under 60	38.1	43.2	56.0	86.4	13.6	50.4	23.3	45.4
60-64	52.5	57.6	67.5	91.7	21.4	53.5	9.2	17.4
65+	53.2	59.3	68.6	92.0	26.2	59.3	5.7	9.7

Source: Housing of Senior Citizens.

RACE AND AREA DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

Table 4 shows specified housing characteristics by race and residential distribution for 1960 and 1970. The largest proportionate increase in ownership was achieved by rural farm blacks. The lowest increase was obtained by urban whites; however, the percent of home ownership in this group was considerably larger than for rural farm blacks.

Although significant increases have been made since 1960, blacks as a group fare less well than whites in terms of the percentage of occupied housing units with hot and cold running water. Among rural blacks in 1970, only 25.2% of the houses were fully plumbed, but this was a considerable increase from the 3.4% in 1960. One-third of the housing units of rural farm blacks in Mississippi in 1970 lacked any piped water. Significant improvements were made in crowdedness, particularly among rural farm blacks,where the proportion of housing units with one or more persons per room decreased from over one-half (51.0%) in 1960 to 16% in 1970.

Residential disparities in housing amenities are notable for Mississippi whites and blacks. Both rural farm and rural nonfarm residences are less likely to have piped water for both races, and for those houses having piped water, are less likely to be equipped with hot water. Almost all urban dwellings of whites, and three-fourths of the urban dwellings of blacks, are fully plumbed.

TABLE 4

SPECIFIED HOUSING DATA, BY RACE AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1960 and 1970.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND RACE	OWNER OCCUPIED		WITH HOT AND COLD PIPED WATER	WITH NO PIPED WATER		WITH ONE OR MORE PERSONS PER ROOM	
	#	%	%	#	%	#	%
URBAN							
White							
1960	100,257	64.5	95.1	1,099	.6	15,547	10.0
1970	141,801	68.0	98.0	1,182	.5	13,648	6.5
Black							
1960	32,913	42.3	42.6	4,038	5.2	26,372	33.9
1970	42,688	48.2	75.4	5,194	5.9	24,310	27.4
RURAL NONFARM							
White							
1960	94,268	68.4	56.6	54.542	29.8	22,442	16.3
1970	149,591	77.5	81.0	28,594	12.3	17,671	9.6
Black							
1960	28,380	38.6	7.8	48.533	65.9	29,883	40.6
1970	44,082	49.9	31.6	50,062	56.7	29,053	34.6
RURAL FARM							
White							
1960	54,310	80.7	54.5	19,277	28.6	10,465	15.6
1970	33,849	90.5	88.7	2,368	16.2	3,551	7.4
Black							
1960	17,666	31.6	3.4	47,567	84.7	8,583	16.0
1970	9,495	49.0	25.2	13,020	67.2	8,583	16.0

Source: Changes in Quality of Life in Mississippi: 1960 - 1970 (State University: MAFES Bulletin 824, 1975).

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF SUBSTANDARD UNITS BY RACE AND RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

URBAN %		RURAL%	
BLACK	OTHER	BLACK	OTHER
20.6	4.6	50.2	24.6

Source: Housing: A Regional Plan of Action for the Southern States (Southern Regional Council, 1972), p. III-5.

Table 5 shows the rural - urban distribution of substandard housing units (defined as units with more than 1.01 persons per room or units which are not fully plumbed) for Mississippi in 1970. Substandard housing in Mississippi is proportionately primarily a rural phenomenon, with three-fourths of the total substandard units in the State located in rural areas. Substandard housing is also disproportionately concentrated among blacks, with over two-thirds of the substandard units being occupied by blacks.

Over one-half of all substandard housing in Mississippi (50.2%) is distributed to the rural black population. There is about two and one-half times as much substandard housing among rural blacks as among urban blacks. There is over five times more substandard housing among rural than urban whites.

Appliances and Amenities

The presence of such conveniences as washers, dryers, freezers, and television sets are general indicators of economic well-being as well as the degree to which an area has become enmeshed into the modern industrial economy.[7] Between 1960 and 1970 conditions improved for whites and blacks in Mississippi in rural and urban areas. For example, in 1960 about 90% of the homes or rural blacks did not have a home freezer, a proportion which had decreased to about 62% of the rural nonfarm blacks and about 48% of the rural farm blacks in 1970. These changes imply an overall improvement in the quality of life of Mississippi.[8]

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS WITH SPECIFIED APPLIANCES BY RACE AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1960-1970

RESIDENCE	PERCENT OF HOMES WITHOUT			
	CLOTHES WASHER	CLOTHES DRYER	HOME FREEZER	TELEVISON SET
URBAN				
White				
1960	27.4	90.2	76.6	11.4
1970	23.5	52.6	56.2	6.1
Black				
1960	56.9	99.2	73.2	45.1
1970	50.6	95.0	73.2	14.1
RURAL NONFARM				
White				
1960	21.0	95.3	64.6	22.8
1970	13.2	43.7	24.6	3.7
Black				
1960	70.0	99.6	90.9	67.3
1970	54.5	97.4	62.3	19.2

Source: Changes in Quality of Life in Mississippi: 1960-1970 (State University: MAFES Bulletin 824, 1975).

Table 7 compares Mississippi, the United States, and the South in terms of the prevalence of such amenities as availability of clothes washers, dryers, dishwashers, food freezers, television, and second home ownership. For the total population, the percentage of these accounterments in terms of a clothes washing machine, a television, or ownership of a second home, was close to but slightly below the the percentages for the South as a whole and for the entire nation. Only two of the specified items revealed a percentage difference of as many as ten percentage points between the presence of those items in Mississippi and elsewhere. These two specifics were: 1) presence of a clothes dryer, in which the percentage of occupied housing units in Mississippi equipped with a clothes dryer (25.8) was considerably lower than the figures for the South (69.5) and the nation (71.1), and 2) presence of food dreezers, wherein the percentage of occupied housing units in Mississippi with food freezers was considerably greater than for the rest of the South (32.3), or for the nation(28.2).

Rural and urban Mississippi ranked about the same in terms of percentage of occupied housing units equipped with clothes washers or television sets and with percentage of occupants owning a second home. Rural Mississippians were considerably more likely (56.5%) to

TABLE 7

COMPARISON OF MISSISSIPPI WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOUTH SLEECTED HOME APPLIANCES AND ACCOUNTERMENTS BY RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION, 1970

	CLOTHES WASHING MACHINE	CLOTHES DRYER	DISHWASHER	FOOD FREEZER	TELEVISION	OWNED SECOND HOME
TOTAL						
United States	71.1	41.7	18.9	28.2	95.5	4.6
South	69.5	33.0	17.3	32.3	94.6	4.3
Mississippi	68.2	25.8	11.9	46.1	91.4	3.2
URBAN						
United States	68.4	43.8	14.1	47.9	94.5	4.5
South	66.3	34.6	21.1	25.0	95.3	4.6
Mississippi	66.7	30.8	16.9	34.3	93.1	4.0
RURAL						
United States	79.3	43.8	14.1	47.9	94.5	4.5
South	75.9	29.7	9.8	46.4	93.3	3.7
Mississippi	69.6	21.5	7.6	56.5	90.0	2.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Housing: 1970, Supplementary Report, "Detailed Housing Characteristics for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States: 1970," Series HC (S1)-6 (June, 1972), pp. 1-235, 1-240.

have a food freezer than was either the urban population of Mississippi (34.3%), or the rural population of the South (46.4%) or the nation (47.9%). Urban residents of Mississippi were more likely to have a clothes dryer (30.8% urban, 21.5% rural) or a dishwasher (16.9% urban, 7.6% rural) than were rural Mississippians.

TABLE 8

DECENNIAL COMPARISON OF SPECIFIED HOUSING ATTRIBUTES, BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA, MISSISSIPPI, 1960-1970

	OWNER OCCUPIED		(%) ONE OR MORE PERSONS PER ROOM		MEDIAN NUMBER OF PERSONS	
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970
STATE	55.7	66.3	23.5	15.1	3.2	2.9
URBAN	57.1	62.0	18.0	12.4	3.0	2.7
RURAL	58.2	70.0	27.3	17.5	3.4	3.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Housing, 1960, Volume I, States and Small Areas, Part 5: Michigan-New Hampshire, p. 26-5; U.S. Census of Housing, 1970, Volume I, Housing Characteristics for States, Cities, and Counties, Part 26, Mississippi, p. 26-7.

Crowdedness decreased 1960-1970 in both rural and urban areas (Table 8). Crowdedness was more pronounced in rural than urban Mississippi.[9] The proportion of units occupied by rural residents in 1960 (27.3%) decreased by about ten percentage points to 17.5% in 1970, about the same proportion of overcrowdedness as found in urban areas of the state in 1960 (18.0%) but more than in 1970 (12.4%).

Home Ownership

Home ownership in Mississippi increased in both rural and urban areas of the State in the decennial period 1960-1970, particularly in rural areas. Whether the rural increase in proportion of owners (from 58.9% in 1960 to 70.0% in 1970) is primarily a negative result of the decline in tenancy rather than accession to ownership is questionable. Nevertheless, by 1970 there was a change from almost the same proportion of owner occupied units in rural and urban areas.

Whites fare much better than blacks in terms of home ownership, with 47% of the owner occupied units owned by whites, contrasted to 14% by black owners (Table 9). A slightly higher proportion of rural than urban units were occupied for both racial components.

TABLE 9

TENURE STATUS BY RACE AND AREA, OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	WHITE%	BLACK%	TOTAL
STATE	46.6	13.8	60.5
URBAN	44.3	13.3	57.7
RURAL	48.6	13.8	62.9
Farm	46.6	13.8	60.5
Nonfarm	57.4	15.9	73.3

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970, "Housing Characteristics," Part 26 Mississippi, Table 32. Differences from prior Table due to sampling.

TABLE 10

OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS FOR DECENNIAL PERIODS 1960-1970, BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA, MISSISSIPPI

	OCCUPIED UNITS		OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
STATE	568,070	636,724	327,894	421,941
URBAN	233,260	296,956	133,170	184,694
RURAL	334,810	339,768	194,724	237,247
Farm	123,494	71,867	72,076	52,678
Nonfarm	211,316	267,431	122,648	184,569

Source: Same as Table 8.

The number of occupied units in Mississippi in 1960 was 233,260 urban and 296,956 rural (Table 10). The 1970 figures were 296,956 urban (a 27.3% increase) and 339,768 rural (a 1.5% increase). The number of farm units decreased by 42%, while the number of occupied units in the nonfarm sector increased by more than one-fourth between 1960 and 1970 (Table 10). Owner occupancy, as might be anticipated, is highest (73.3%) among the farm population. The percentage of total owner occupied units located in rural Mississippi declined only slightly between 1960 and 1970 from 59% to 56% (Table 11). The proportion of the total owner occupied units in the state which were owner occupied decreased from 22% in 1960 to only 12.5% in 1970. Increases occurred for the urban (3.2 percentage points) and rural nonfarm (6.3 percentage points) populations.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS AND PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED UNITS OCCUPIED BY OWNER, BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA, MISSISSIPPI

	% CHANGE	% OF TOTAL	
	1960-1970	1960	1970
STATE	28.6	100%	100%
URBAN	38.7	40.6	43.8
RURAL	21.8	59.4	56.2
Farm	26.9	22.0	12.5
Nonfarm	50.5	37.4	43.7

Source: Same as Table 8.

A noticeable differential may be observed in 1960-1970 percentage changes between occupied and owner occupied units. Owner occupied units (Table 11) increased by considerably more than did all occupied units. This was due to a circa 27% increase in occupied units in the urban and rural nonfarm area, and a very large decrease (41.8%) in rural farm occupancy (Table 12).

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN OCCUPIED, BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA, MISSISSIPPI, 1960-1970

AREA	PERCENT
STATE	12.1
URBAN	27.3
RURAL	1.5
Farm	41.8
Nonfarm	26.6

Source: Same as Table 8.

HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS OF MISSISSIPPI'S POOR

Table 13 compares poverty households and all households in Mississippi on specified housing characteristics. The proportion of owner occupancy is at least 40% for the poor for each residential area. Table 14 compares the proportion of houses which are not fully plumbed by race and residential distribution for Mississippi in 1970. Whites of all income levels fared better than blacks rural or urban. Some 17% of the housing units of Mississippi's poor white population were not fully plumbed, compared to 55% of the houses of the State's black poor. Over three-fourths of Mississippi's rural black poor lived in housing units that were not fully plumbed.

TABLE 13

POVERTY HOUSEHOLDS COMPARED WITH TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS, FOR TENAWAY, VALUE, AND PLUMBING DEFICIENCY

	% OWNER OCCUPANCY		MEAN VALUE		RENTER OCCUPIED	
	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR
TOTAL						
State	63.7	49.8	$13,419	$8,527	36.3	50.1
Urban	60.9	44.7	14,944	9,709	39.1	55.3
Rural Nonfarm	68.5	55.9	NA	NA	31.5	44.1
Ruralz Farm	66.6	53.9	NA	NA	33.4	46.1

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970, PC(1)-C26, table 58.

TABLE 14

PERCENT HOUSEHOLDS LACKING SOME OR ALL PLUMBING FACILITIES, BY RACE AND RESIDENCE, POOR AND NONPOOR HOUSEHOLDS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

AREA	TOTAL		WHITE		NEGRO	
	POOR	NONPOOR	POOR	NONPOOR	POOR	NONPOOR
STATE	39.2	17.3	15.9	5.3	55.1	44.0
URBAN	25.7	9.9	5.0	1.4	38.5	29.1
RURAL NONFARM	55.0	29.1	27.1	11.4	76.2	66.8
RURAL FARM	54.9	33.2	27.7	14.5	76.3	71.1

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.DC(1)-6C26, table 58.

Comparison of the likelihood of inadequate plumbing for various race-residence categories among the poor and nonpoor reveals that poor Mississippians are 2.26 times as likely to have inadequate plumbing. Mississippi's rural poor are circa two and one-fifth times as likely to have inadequate plumbing as are the rural nonpoor; the white rural nonfarm poor are over twice as likely to have inadequate plumbing than are the rural nonfarm poor; the black rural poor are over thirteen times as likely to have inadequate plumbing than are the total white nonpoor.

Areas Served by the Farmers Home Administration

The Farmers Home Administration (FmHA), by virtue of the Housing Act of 1949, has the task of administering insured housing loans. The FmHA is directed by law to make loans to those persons with the economic capability to make repayments. This section looks at the housing characteristics of areas served by the FmHA in Mississippi, that is, rural areas and places of 2,500-10,000 population outside of urbanized areas.

Of the 157,574 housing units occupied by poverty families in FmHA served areas in Mississippi in 1970, 44% were occupied by whites and 56% by blacks. Of the housing units which lacked complete plumbing, 22.1% were white and 78% black. Of the households not in poverty lacking complete plumbing, 41.4% were white and 58.6% were black.

Nearly one-fourth (24.8%) of white households in FmHA areas were poverty households. Some 12.8% of white households lived in units that lacked complete plumbing. Of these, 6.5% were poverty and 6.4% were nonpoverty households. Fully 68.1% of the black households were poverty households. A total of 68.9% of the black households in FmHA areas occupied units that were not completely plumbed, with 49.5% consisting of poverty and 19.4% of nonpoverty households.[10]

SUMMARY

The following conclusions can be summarized from the foregoing review of the indicators of the housing situation in Mississippi.

1. Notable improvements have been made in Mississippi housing indicators in terms of owner occupancy, decreased crowdedness, and conveniences available.

2. Nevertheless, compared to national averages, overcrowding, absence of telephones, and inadequacy of plumbing remain high in Mississippi, particularly among the poor.

3. There is an indication of much unsatisfactory housing and many associated problems, particularly in rural areas of Mississippi.

4. Survey of census housing indicators show a particularl severity of housing problems among black Mississippians on such comparative measures as number of occupants per room and full plumbing facilities.

5. Substandard housing problems are more characteristic of rural than urban Mississippi.

6. The proportion of occupied units that are owner occupied has improved; however, a much lower percentage of blacks are owners in all geographic areas.
7. Over one-half (52%) of the below poverty households in Farmers Home Administration served areas in Mississippi lived in units that lacked complete plumbing.

Overall, it is apparent that much remains to be accomplished in Mississippi in the provision of adequate housing.[11] Although there are notable long-term improvements in measures of housing quality, the optimism of several years ago when affordable new housing seemed to be more within unsubsidized range of average workers, may with very objective reason be being replaced with despair for future prospects. Maximzing of land values is not an unmitigated social good. Downie has suggested that a reversal of destructive real estate speculation will be necessary "to save the equality of opportunity, pride of community, and employment on the land that has been part of the true American way of life."

* This chapter is based on and closely follows a similar treatment in Mississippi Geographer, forthcoming.

1. Leonard Downie, Jr., Mortgage on America (New York-Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1974), p.4.

2. Economic Development Approaches for the Southeast, (Atlanta: Engineering Experiment Station, Industrial Development & Division, Georgia Institute of Technology, for the Economic Development and Administration, 1973), p.31.

3. Ibid, p.32.

4. Peter W. Salsich, "Housing and the States," The Urban Lawyer, (Winter, 1970), p. 40.

5. Paul Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems, (Prentice-Hall, 1974), p.14.

6. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Plumbing Facilities and Estimates of Dilapidated Housing, 1970; HC(6), p.26-3.

7. Economic Development Approaches for the Southeast, p.34.

8. Carlton R. Sollie, et al., Changes in Quality of Life in Mississippi: 1960-1970 (State University: MAFES Bulletin 824, 1975), pp.7-9.

9. Hathaway has pointed out that despite the outcry of overcrowding among blacks in central cities, in 1960 almost twice as many rural as urban ones lived in overcrowded dwellings. Dale Hathaway, "People on the Move: The Rural to Urban Population Shift." Paper presented at the National Manpower Conference, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1968.

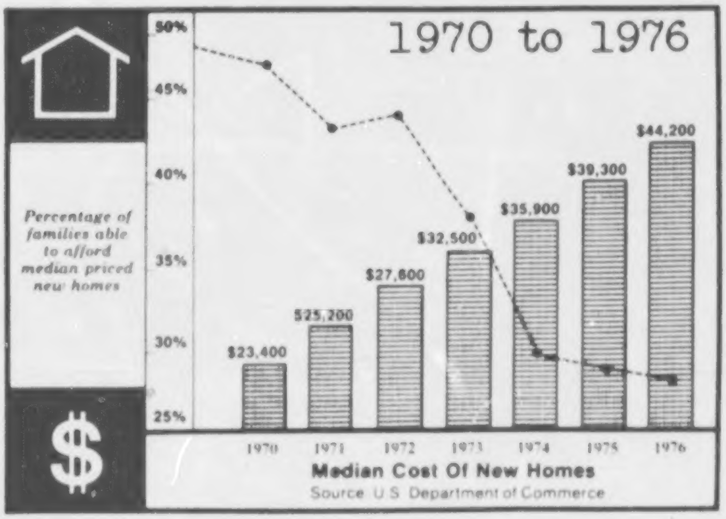
10. Inadequate Housing and Poverty Status of Households (Washington: USDA, Rural Development Service, Statistical Bulletin No. 520, June, 1973).

11. The prospects for continued improvement have been seriously challenged by the horrendous price increases during the 1970s. The problem is reflected in the following observation: "'I have friends who bought a house...for $13,000 a few years ago. Last month he(sic) sold it for $26,000, and he had made very few improvements. Inflation is killing everyone." "There's No Way Around It--Housing Is Just Too Expensive," Leland Progress (April 7, 1977), p. 1. The 1975 Census survey on housing revealed that during the first half of the 1970s family incomes of homeowners and renters failed to keep pace with the spiraling costs of housing. This halted what had been a steady pre-1970s growth in the proportion of Americans who "owned" their homes. The median

value of owner occupied single family dwellings rose by 73% between 1970 and 1975 (from $17,000 to $29,500). "Housing Costs Spiraling Our of Reach," Columbus (Ms.) Commercial Dispatch (April 11, 1977), p. 1. Housing prices continued to climb, so that by the early 1970s "the median sales price of new, single-family homes was $47,500." "Housing Costs Catch Renters In 2-Way Bind," Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial-Appeal (April 11, 1977). Princeton economist Kenneth Rosen, noting that by 1986 it would cost "about $90,000 to buy a medium-priced new home," predicted "a housing crisis of unprecedented proportions" that will worsen in the coming decade. He said that owing to high monthly payments on mortgages and increasing downpayment requirements "nearly two-thirds of all American families could not afford to purchase the home where they now live." "Home Price Predicted to Hit $90,000 by 1986," New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune (April 1, 1977), Section 1, p. 12.

> Not only have home prices moved up faster than pay checks; so have real estate taxes, insurance, heat, home repairs, and maintenance costs. If the trend of the past five years continues...a typical new house will cost $78,000 by 1981...not only will the poor be priced out of home ownership, but so will the middle class. Then only the most prosperous will be able to afford new homes. In the past ten years not only home building, but home buying as well, has gone from a mass market to a luxury market.

TRIM Bulletin, 1-95 (Spring, 1977), p. 3. The following chart graphically depicts the change in the new home market during the 1970s.



Median Cost Of New Homes

Source U.S. Department of Commerce

This chart has been said to illustrate "what inflation, continually fueled by deficits caused by excessive government spending, has done to restrict new home ownership by Americans at all income levels." Ibid. According to this source, "the greater the amount of government spending, the more the economy is depressed...government spending does not 'stimulate' the conomy. It merely directs labor and capital into the production of less necessary goods and services. A prime example of this is public works projects and public service jobs." Perhaps the kindest thing government could do relative to the promotion of housing is benignly withdraw from the arena and cease all guarantees, incentives, and other programs of favortism to individuals of categorical groups and all other activities relative to housing provison except the provision of low interest mortgage money. Programs which provide favored terms or guaranteed loans to governmentally favored categories of persons (VA loans, low-income rental subsidies, etc.) would seem to be due for reconsideration of their efficacy in meeting the needs of the poor. A particular question may be raised in devices wherein the government is involved in housing in partnership with private enterprise. "HUD Called Multi-Billion Dollar Study In Failure." Jackson (Ms.) Clarion-Ledger (May 22, 1977), p. G7. Serious questions have been raised, as well, about related programs. "Call Uncle Sam for Free Home-Remodeling Service," Simpson County (Ms.) News (May 19, 1977), p. 13; "Low-Income Housing Units Bad Bargains for Taxpayers," Congressional Record (February 1, 1977), E 471. Housing allowances, for example, "are bound to fail those who need help in getting a decent place to live, just as they are bound to bring windfall profits to those who control the housing market." Charles Hartman and Dennis Keating, "The Housing Allowance Delusion," Social Policy (Jan. - Feb., 1974), pp. 31 - 37. Cf.: Kenneth F. Phillips and Michael A. Agelasto, "Housing and Central Cities: The Conservation Approach," Ecology Law Quarterly, 4 (No. 4, 1975), pp. 797- 880. For discussion of the allegedly and possibly good faith legislative effort to expand housing opportunities for the low income population as an opportunity source for "quick buck" entrepreneurs and seekers of tax havens, see Brian D. Boyer, Cities Destroyed for Cash; the FHA Scandal at HUD (Chicago: FOllett Publishing Co., 1973). Exposition of the "new towns" project reportedly "touted by wild-eyed Washington idealists as the answer to the decay of large cities and the spread of suburban sprawl" may be found in Philip V. Brennan, "Govt's Diastrous 'New Towns' Project Will Cost You $120 Million," National Enquirer (June 7, 1977), p. 33.

CHAPTER 11

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

The close relationship between large families, unplanned births, and poverty is well documented. The adage of antiquity of "the rich man for money, the poor man for children" is a folk expression of the correlation between income, living standards, and reproductive behavior. Whether larger family size than is economically feasible for a particular couple (thus promoting a kind of self-inflected deprivation which may or may not be an intentional trade-off as against other kinds of expenditures) is the causative agent, or whether poverty fosters a cultural attitude and outlook (a set of poverty related norms and values) which is conducive to high fertility levels is the causative agent, a definite relationship may be observed between poverty and family size.

In 1970, fewer than 9% of families with one or two children were in poverty, compared with 14% of families with three or four children and 30% of the families with five or more offspring. The 1972 Report of the Presidential Commission on Population Growth and the American Future stated that at least 15% of all births between 1966 and 1970 were unwanted and 44% were unplanned. The incidence of unwanted births was greater for the lower income and less educated population. Low income blacks, in particular, were subjected to the spectre of unwanted increases in family size. Levitan has pointed out that "contrary to the widely held misconception that the poor have more children because they want them, a survey of women married between 1966 and 1970 indicated that economic status and race had little bearing on desired family size. All wanted approximately the same number of children, but the poor got more."[1] The misery of many families could have been prevented if means for birth control had been utilized. "The evidence is clear that limited access to birth control devices and family planning services has prevented women unable to afford medical care from excercising the same degree of choice as more affluent women."[2]

Table 1 shows the average number of related children for all income and poverty families in Mississippi in 1970 for different residential areas. First, the mean number of children is smaller for all income than for poverty families for each residential category of urban, rural farm, or rural nonfarm population. Secondly, rural farm fertility is greater than for the other residential areas. Thirdly,black fertility is higher than white fertility for all residential categories. The consistent theme, however, regardless of race or residential category, is the larger family size of poverty families.The relationship would doubtless be even more pronounced except for the large number of aged couples within the low income brackets.

Table 2 shows the percent of families with specified number of children below the poverty level. There is a consistent increase in percentage of poverty families as family size increases from 20.6 of

TABLE 1

AVERAGE NUMBER (MEAN) OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18, AND INCOME AND POVERTY FAMILIES, TOTAL AND NEGRO, BY AREA, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

RACE	STATE		URBAN		RURAL NONFARM		RURAL FARM	
	All Income	Pov.	All Income	Pov.	All Income	Pov.	All Income	Pov.
Total	2.62	3.51	2.44	3.28	2.75	3.62	2.88	3.70
Black	3.46	3.85	3.12	3.55	3.68	4.00	3.85	4.09

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

all families with one or more related children under 18 residing in the household. The pattern is consistent for both races, although the percentages are more pronounced for nonwhites irrespective of family size. Table 3 shows the percentage distributions for the total population by area of residence.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18 WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN SPECIFIED RESIDENTIAL AREAS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

AREA	TOTAL	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN	EIGHT OR MORE
State	30.8	20.6	21.3	29.6	43.4	59.3	72.3	73.4	76.7
Urban	23.9	16.5	16.3	22.6	36.1	52.9	65.1	66.3	68.8
Rural Nonwhite	35.8	23.7	25.0	34.7	48.7	63.1	77.2	76.8	78.8
Rural Farm	41.0	28.0	30.8	38.7	50.2	66.7	75.5	57.9	70.5
Jackson SMSA	21.4	13.6	13.6	20.1	35.3	52.9	64.5	57.9	70.5

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Two features of the interplay between poverty, fertility, and residence are readily apparent: 1) the percentage of families living in poverty shows a progressive increase with increased family size irrespective of residence (Table 2), and 2) the proportion of non-poverty families shows a general decrease in the number of children (Table 3).

TABLE 3

PERCENT OF FAMILIES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL BY SPECIFIED NUMBER OF CHILDREN, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

FAMILY STATUS	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
No Related Children Under 18	26.0	19.3	49.3
With Related Children Under 18	30.9	13.5	63.6
1 Related Child	20.6	10.6	49.2
2 Related Children	21.4	10.6	55.3
3 Related Children	29.6	14.6	62.9
4 Related Children	43.4	21.5	71.1
5 Related Children	59.3	32.3	75.5
6 or More Related Children	74.3	42.1	80.2
All Families	29.0	16.0	59.4

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Looking at family size of the 1970 Mississippi population according to median income in 1969, a progressive decrease in median income with increased family size is apparent for the State as a whole and for each residential category (Table 4). Table 5 shows median income as a pertage of the median for two child families. For families with in excess of two children, there is a generally consistent decrease in the percentage of family income as contrasted to the two child families.

Whether measured by mean family income, percentage of families below the poverty level, or median income, there is a definite and pronounced relationship between low income, poverty, and family size. The data support the adage that "the rich get richer and the poor get children."

The Mississippi data reveal that the relationship between family size and poverty, while consistent for whites and blacks, is even more pronounced among blacks. While these relationships do not in themselves provide hard data as to excess fertility, they are consistent with studies which have shown that excess fertility is more severe among the poor. Whelpton and associates found in a national survey that among couples with excess fertility, those with incomes below $3,000 expected more children than those with incomes below $10,000 (4.2 vs. 3.9), but

TABLE 4

1969 MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	STATE	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM
TOTAL	6.626	7.712	5 986	4.948
One	6.825	7.691	6.287	5.386
Two	7.608	8.695	6.838	XXXXX
Three	7.169	8.263	6.420	5.868
Four	6.024	6.923	5.437	4.573
Five	4.784	5.626	4.436	3.492
Six	3.656	4.349	3.472	3.152
Seven	3.763	4.523	3.588	3.041
Eight or More	3.429	4.120	3.343	2.933

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 5

MEDIAN INCOME BY NUMBER OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18 AS PERCENTAGE OF MEDIAN OF TWO CHILD FAMILIES MISSISSIPPI, 1970

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	MEDIAN AS PERCENTAGE OF 7.608
Total	87.0%
One	89.8%
Two	100.0%
Three	92.3%
Four	79.2%
Five	62.9%
Six	48.1%
Seven	49.5%
Eight or More	45.0%

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

they wanted fewer (2.5 vs. 3.1). Only 11% of the college educated fell into the excess fertility group (more children than desired), compared to 32 percent of those with a grade school education. Of all nonwhite couples, 32 percent were in the excess fertility category. The proportion of couples with excess fertility was highest among nonwhites living on farms in the South (nearly 48 percent). The authors concluded:

> Lower status couples do not have more children than higher status couples simply because they want more.... If couples in all education and income groups were to use contraception equally well, there would only be small differences in average family size.... If the wife has a grade school education and the husband has an income of less than $4,000 per year, then 39 percent have excess fertility. The judgement that their fertility is too high represents their own opinion.

The Mississippi data on the relationship between residence, income and family size are consistent with national data.[4] To the extent national survey data are applicable to Mississippi, the conclusion of severe excess fertility (more offspring than desired by those having them),[5] would seem quite applicable to the Mississippi population, particularly the poor.

One half of the nation's poor are in a family of five or larger. Excepting individuals living alone, most of whom are widows and widowers, "it may be said that the larger the family the greater the risk of poverty...."[6] Reproductive responsibility on the part of medically indigent women and paramours and/or poverty families would seem to be a highly significant variable in the reduction of poverty.[7]

American society has undergone a dramatic shift of opinion regarding birth control and government activity in family planning in recent decades. These changing attitudes have had their impact on presidents, congress, and the courts. President Eisenhower considered birth control a private matter inappropriate for public discussion or support. Before leaving office, however, he recognized the appropriateness of a collective response to the twin concern of population growth and the plight of the poor. Subsequent president's have strongly supported the right of the poor to space their children as desired.

Levitan has pointed out some of the positive effects of a reduced birth rate among the poor. Fewer children would be born into poverty, and fewer households would be driven into poverty because of unwanted children. An additional benefit is that children in smaller families are less likely candidates for a life of poverty than are children in larger families.[8]

SUMMARY

Unwanted or unplanned births can keep a family from moving out of poverty or they can force a family into poverty. Additional births into poverty families can result in a vicious circle of dependency and chronic poverty. Whether measured by mean or median family income or by percentage of families with incomes below the poverty level, there is a consistent relationship between poverty and family size. Mississippi data are in aligment with national data regarding poverty and family size, with the relationship being more severe for blacks than for whites. Reduced birth rates among persons who do not positively wish to have additional offspring carries a number of direct and indirect social and economic benefits.

1. Sar A. Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor for the 1970's, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, Press, 1973), p. 86.

2. Ibid. However, there is contra evidence. See fn 7 below.

3. P.K. Whelpton, et al., Fertility and Future Population in the United States, (Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 242-248.

4. J. Allan Beegle,"Rural Fertility Differentials in the U.S. in 1960," pp. 375-363, and F. J. Jaffee, "Family Planning and Rural Poverty and Approach to Programming of Services," in President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, Rural Poverty in the United States, (Washington: USGPO, 1968), pp. 368-383.

5. Excess fertility as used in this report is taken to mean more children than desired by couples themselves, not from an outsider's judgment, withdrawing the concept from the realm of objective and/or subjective value judgment as to desired and/or appropriate family size.

6. Robert A. Liston, The American Poor, (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970), p. 47.

7. Some observers have pointed out that the higher rate of the poor is not due to any inability to obtain preventive artifacts. If true, this would seem to take the wind out of the sails of "family planning" artifact distribution centers as aids to eugenic reproductive behavior. Lee Rainwater (And the Poor Get Children, 1960) concluded on the basis of his study of contraception among lower-income groups that the poor know full well about family limitation techniques; they prefer not to use them. Demographer Judith Blake has similarly challenged the contention of family planners that the poor lack access to family limitation techniques. Blake (Science, May, 1969) observes:

> When one bears in mind the fact that the poor have no difficulty in gaining access to illegal narcotics ...one must recognize and take into account a motivational component...Indeed, were relative lack of demand on the part of the poor not a principal factor, it would be difficult to explain why such an important "market" for birth control materials...would have escaped the attention of enterprising businessmen or bootleggers.

"Psychiatrist Robert Coles, who spent several years interviewing migrant workers and sharecroppers, reports in Children of Crisis (1967) that having large numbers of children fulfills basic psychological needs for the poor. To parents who eke out a subsistence living, children are one of the few available sources of gratification." Shelia M. Rothman, "Sterilizing the Poor," Society (Jan. - Feb., 1977), p. 37.

8. Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor, p. 88.

CHAPTER 12

POVERTY AND FATHERLESS FAMILIES

The number of women in the United States who are heads of families increased by almost 2.4 million between 1955 and 1973 (from 4.2 to 6.6 million). The increase during 1970-1973 (1.1 million) almost equaled the increase during the entire 1960s.(1.1 million).[1]

This change in family composition has resulted in considerable theorizing and speculation by social scientists and welfare planners regarding the causes and implications of the changes in family structure. The effect of this composition on child development, personality, and emergent generations is also a subject of considerable research inquiry and interest. Whatever the etiological factors, the incidence of female headship is of direct concern in any comprehensive survey of poverty in an area.

Families headed by a female run a substantially greater risk of falling below the poverty line than do male headed families. While 24% of all poor children lived in fatherless families in 1959, this figure had climbed to 46% in 1970. Almost two poor families of every five in 1970 were headed by a female, compared to 23% in 1959. In terms of incidence, 34% of all female headed families were poor in 1970, compared to 7% of those families headed by a male. About half of all female headed families received aid to families with dependent children in 1973. Wereas some 88% of the non-AFDC families in the U.S. are male headed, about three-fourths (76.2%) of the AFDC families are headed by a female.[2]

In 1974 over one-half (54%) of the poor other than unrelated individuals lived in a female headed family (Table 1). The number of poor in a female headed family increased by 7.2% over 1973, compared to 4.6% for male headed families.

TABLE 1

POOR PERSONS BY FAMILY, SEX OF FAMILY HEAD,
UNITED STATES, 1973-1974

SEX OF HEAD	NUMBER OF POOR (thousand)		PERCENT CHANGE 1973 - 1974	PERCENT OF TOTAL 1973 - 1974	
	1973	1974			
Male Headed	2,635	2,757	+4.6%	54.6%	54.0%
Female Head	2,193	2,351	+7.2%	45.4%	46.0%
All Families	4,828	5,109	+5.8%	100%	100%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1974", Series P-60, No. 99, (July, 1975), p. 2.

Fatherless Families in Mississippi

Whereas 28.9% of all families in Mississippi in 1970 had incomes below the poverty level, 57.9% of the female headed families were poor (Table 2). For whites, 14.3% of the male headed families, contrasted to 33.7% of the female headed families, were poor. Over one-half of the male headed black families were poor (53.2%); over three-fourths of the female headed black families were poor (77.2%).

TABLE 2

PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BELOW POVERTY LEVEL BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

		POOR FAMILIES	
	TOTAL	WHITE	NON-WHITE
Total	28.9%	15.9%	59.2%
Male Headed	24.3%	14.3%	53.2%
Female Headed	57.9%	33.7%	77.2%

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Nearly 87% of all families in Mississippi in 1970 were headed by a male compared to 73% of the poor families. Whereas 13.4% of all income families (Table 3), and only 7.9% of non-poor families were headed by a female, 26.9% of the poor families were female headed. Nearly one-third (32.7%) of the poor black families were headed by a female.

TABLE 3

ALL INCOME AND POOR FAMILIES BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD MISSISSIPPI, 1970

ALL FAMILIES	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	534,444	100.0	374,229	100.0%	159,070	100.0%
Male Headed	462,704	86.6%	342,544	91.5%	119,108	74.8%
Female Headed	71,740	13.4%	31,685	8.5%	39,892	25.1%
POOR FAMILIES						
Total	154,254	100.0%	59,525	100.0%	94,148	100.0%
Male Headed	112,683	73.1%	48,852	82.1%	63,348	67.3%
Female Headed	41,571	26.9%	10,673	17.9%	30,800	32.7%

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Persons in Poverty by Sex of Head

Table 4 shows the distribution of the persons in poverty families according to the sex of the family head. Of the 681,754 Mississippians living in poverty families in 1970, nearly one half of this amount (48.6%) lived in a family headed by a black male. More than one fifth (21.6%) lived in families headed by a black female. Almost one-fourth (24.4%) lived in a family headed by a white male, while only 5% lived in families headed by a white female. By contrast, only 17.5% of all persons in families lived in a family headed by a black male.

TABLE 4

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES PERCENT OF TOTAL AND PERCENT INCIDENCE BY FAMILY HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% INCIDENCE
Total[1]	681,754	100.0%	33.5
Male Headed	499,950	73.3%	28.5
Female Headed	181,804	26.7%	65.0

[1] Includes Non-white other than Negroes

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

About one-fourth (26.7%) of all poor persons living in families lived in a female headed family (Table 4). Whereas 33.5% of all Mississippians living in families in 1970 were poor, almost two-thirds (65%) of those persons living in female headed families were poor.

Geographic Distribution of Fatherless Families

Table 6 shows the percentage distribution of fatherless families by geographic or residential distribution. The more frequent incidence of fatherless families is found in urban areas for both whites and blacks. For whites, nearly 10% of the families of all income levels were fatherless, compared to 7.9% and 5.4% for rural nonfarm and rural farm residents respectively. Over one-fourth (26.9%) of the white fatherless families in urban areas were poor in contrast to 16.1% and 7.3% respectively for the rural nonfarm and farm populations.

While the incidence of fatherless families is higher for black than for whites in each geographic classification, the percentage of fatherless families for both all income levels (30.6%) and poor families (45.9%) is greater among urban than among rural non-farm and farm residents.

TABLE 5

PERCENT OF TOTAL PERSONS IN POVERTY FAMILIES, ALL INCOME FAMILIES, AND NON-POVERTY FAMILIES BY STATUS OF FAMILY HEAD AND RACE MISSISSIPPI, 1970

INCOME CATEGORY*	MALE HEADED		FEMALE HEADED	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
Total Person in Poverty Families 681,754 (100%)	24.4	48.6	5.0	21.6
Total Persons in All Income Families 2,032,362 (100%)	58.0	27.9	4.7	9.0
Total Persons in Non-Poverty Families 1,350,608 (100%)	75.1	17.5	4.5	2.7

*Totals include small number of Spanish speaking persons.

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative Interpretation: 48.6% of the persons living in poverty families lived in families headed by a Negro male.

TABLE 6
PERCENT FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEAD, BY RACE AND RESIDENTIAL AREA MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Percent of Families Female Headed	TOTAL		URBAN		RURAL NON-FARM		RURAL FARM	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
All Income Levels	8.5	25.1	9.7	30.6	7.9	22.6	5.4	15.6
Poor	17.9	32.7	26.9	45.9	16.1	27.5	7.3	18.3

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

The differential incidence of female headed families in urban areas is likely the result of a combination of demographic, social, and economic factors. These would include, with varying degrees of intensity, the age composition of the populations in the different areas, economic factors such as the differential employment potential for females, the nature of agricultural occupations which are not likely to be conducive to the location and/or retention of females heads of households in the rural farm population, migration patterns, and possibly to some degree may reflect differential cultural norms and values. It is quite possible that the contrast in the incidence of female headed households is muted somewhat by the age structure of the population.

Female Family Heads and Employment

In general, without the presence of mitigating circumstances, women who are heads of families may face peculiar handicaps in attempting to make an adequate living. The presence of minor children in the home may be an inhibiting factor. Discrimination against women with family responsibilities in hiring practices has been said to severely limit their chances for employment.[3] Frequently, female family heads are further disadvantaged by a lack of marketable skills and training, and swell the ranks of unskilled workers.[4]

Table 7 and 8 examine the employment patterns of heads of Mississippi families. The lowest percentage of employed family heads among Mississippians occurs among white female family heads of poor families (30.8%), compared to about 39% of the female heads of poor black families. Most revealing, however, is the observation that 69.3% of the employed female heads of black families are poor, compared to 44% of the employed male heads of black families.

TABLE 7

PERCENT OF FAMILY HEADS EMPLOYED, ALL INCOME AND POVERTY FAMILIES, BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
All Income Levels			
Male Head	77.6	80.5	69.4
Female Head	46.5	45.6	57.0
Poverty Families			
Male Head	51.9	50.4	43.4
Female Head	36.8	30.8	38.9

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Racial Distribution of Fatherless Families

In 1973, black women represented 28% of all female family heads in the United States and 35% of all black families. Between 1960 and 1973, there was a 10% increase in the number of white female family heads, compared to a 35% increase in black family heads.[5] The proportion of poor black families headed by a female increased from one-third to over one-half in the 1960s.[6]

TABLE 8

PERCENT OF EMPLOYED FAMILY HEADS WITH INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

SEX OF FAMILY HEAD	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
Male Heads	16.6	8.1	44.0
Female Heads	46.0	12.9	69.3

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

All of the foregoing tables on the racial distribution of fatherless families are consistent with the national data which show a comparatively greater proportion of fatherless families among the non-white population. In Mississippi, nearly one-third of the poor black families were headed by a female in 1970 (compared to 18% for whites) while over two-thirds of the black fatherless families were poor (69.3%), compared to 13% for whites.[7]

SUMMARY

The frequency of the incidence of poverty in Mississippi is much greater among female headed families. Of the total poor families in Mississippi, however, nearly three-fourths are headed by males, and only one-fourth are families of fatherless poor. Families headed by a female run a substantially greater risk of falling below the poverty line than do male headed families.

Almost two-thirds of all Mississippians living in female headed families in 1970 had 1969 incomes below the poverty level. A more frequent incidence of such families was found in urban than in rural areas. Over two-thirds of the employed female heads of black families were poor.

1. U.S Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, "Female Family Heads," Series P-23, No. 50 (July, 1974), p.1.

2. Howard Oberheu, "The Typical Family Compared with the AFDC Family," *Consumer Strategy*, 1(January, 1977), p.18

3 President's Commission on Income Maintenance, *Poverty and Plenty*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p.30.

4. Paul Horton and Gerald Leslie, *The Sociology of Social Problems*, (McGraw-Hill, 1974), p.346.

5. CPR Series, p. 23, No. 50, p.1.

6. Daniel P. Moynihan, *The Politics of a Guaranteed Income*, (Random House, 1973), p.37.

7. Marital dissolution by divorce is of increased significance in the prevalence of female headed families. During 1975, for the first time, more than one million divorces were consummated in the United States. The national divorce rate for 1975 was 4.9 per 1,000 population, the highest annual divorce rate ever achieved in this country. The more specific rate, divorces per 1,000 married women, also reached a record high (20.3 for 1975). Prior to 1973, the highest level record for this rate was 17.9, recorded in 1946. The divorce rate per 1,000 married women has increased each year since 1963; it more than doubled between 1963 and 1974 (from 9.6 to 19.3). The number of children involved in divorces exceeded 500,000 in a given year for the first time in 1961, and first exceeded one million in 1972. The estimated number of children under 18 involved in divorce in 1975 was 1,123,000. The total number of persons involved in divorce--husbands, wives, progeny--was 3,195,000, more than twice the number invovled in divorce in 1965. The divorce rate (number of divorces per 1,000 population per year) in Mississippi in 1975, 1974, and 1973 was 5.2, 5.1, and 4.7 respectively. The divorce rate in Mississippi exceeded the national rate in each of these years; however, the rate was lower in Mississippi than it was in any contiguous State. National Center for Health Statistics, "Final Divorce Statistics, 1975," *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, 26 (HRA) 77-1120, Supplement 2 (May 19, 1977). According to some supposed experts, American families, "caught in the middle of broad social and economic changes...are finding it increasingly difficult to cope with their problems." The number of children in single parent homes has increased seven times as fast as the number of two-parent families since 1960. Sandra Stencel, "The Changing American Family," Jackson (Ms.) *Clarion-Ledger* (June 10, 1977), 10A.

CHAPTER 13

POVERTY, HEALTH, AND NUTRITION

Health is the result of the combined interaction of a variety of factors. Just as there is no universal way to define good health nor to measure it, neither is there any sure method of determining the relative contribution to its maintenance of factors like nutrition or housing or clean air or exercise or inheritance.[1] Whatever the combination of causative factors may be, there is no question but that good health is a prime foundation of a "good life."

Health and Poverty Interrelated

Ill health is possibly the greatest single cause of human suffering in modern society. It is doubtful that if any other single circumstance produces so much poverty, dependency, and economic inefficiency as illness. In an average day in the United States nearly two million persons of working age are unemployed because of disability, almost another million are absentees because of illness, and nearly one-fourth of the rest are working at less than full efficiency due to non-disabling illness.[2] The United States is now spending $139.3 billion yearly, or $638 per capita, for health services.[3]

There is no precise way to determine the degree to which poverty is the cause of ill health or the result of ill health. The fact is, poverty produces ill health, and ill health produces poverty. Practically every condition that produces ill health is most characteristic of the life circumstances of the poor.

The poor aged are particularly vulnerable. Old age often means increased medical need due to failing health, and increased cost because the more expensive services are required for treatment. The national per capita health expenditure of the aged is several times greater than it is for the younger population (Table 1). A study of the low income aged in a six county area in Mississippi indicated that more than half of the household's sampled had increased their spending for medical services, while income, generally, had declined.[4]

Illness and Poverty

Not only may ill health require unusual expenditures, but, by reducing working capacity, vitally affects the primary source of family income. National data have suggested that from twenty to thirty percent of the AFDC and public assistance cases opened are opened because of loss of earnings due to illness, injury, or other impairment.[5] A Census Bureau survey revealed that in 1970, 25 percent of the unemployed poor were unemployed due to illness or disability, compared to 12 percent of the nonpoor unemployed.[6] Other studies on the relationship of income to acute and chronic illness have shown that members of low income classes experience a higher rate of activity-limiting conditions in all age categories.[7]

TABLE 1

PERSONAL HEALTH EXPENDITURES BY AGE AND SOURCE OF FUNDS, UNITED STATES, 1972 and 1975, and PERCENTAGE CHANGE, 1972-1975

YEAR	ITEM	TOTAL	UNDER 19	19-64	65 and OVER
1972	Per Capita ($)	340	147	228	981
	% Public	37.2	28.1	21.4	65.6
1975	Per Capita	476	213	572	1301
	% Public		24.4	24.8	68.6
% Change	Per Capita	40.0	44.9	150.9	32.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1973, p. 300, and 1976, p.74.

Table 2 shows the characteristics of males in Mississippi in 1970 who were disabled for six months or more in 1969 due to serious physical or mental illness, defect, or handicap. About 40 percent were severely handicapped educationally, and circa the same proportion were not members of the labor force at all. Over 60% had personally or lived in a family that had a yearly income of less than $3,000, while 34.4% had incomes below the poverty level.

TABLE 2

WORK DISABILITY OF THE NONCONSTITUTIONAL MALE POPULATION, AGE 16-64, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	% Under 8 years Ed.	% Income under $3,000	% Unable to work	Ratio of Income to Poverty Level*		
					Under .75	.75 to 1.00	Under 1.25
Work Disability of six months or more	80,179	39.8	62.0	42.3	30.8	39.4	48.3

* Family and unrelated individual income. Percentages refer to total in first column.

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi*.

Illustrative Interpretation: 31% of the males disabled for 6 months or more had family or unrelated individual incomes of less than 75% of the poverty level.

Physical and emotional disabilities have negative influences on labor force participation, earning rates, and days available for employment. Studies have suggested that increasing limitation is positively associated with decreasing labor force participation, decreasing wages, and decreasing hours of work, even when factors such as age and education are taken into account. Furthermore, there is evidence that public transfers do surprisingly little to improve the economic level of living units containing disabled persons. Morgan *et al* ,[8] on the basis of a national survey, concluded that although transfers compose about one-third of the gross disposable income of living units containing a disabled person, their incomes as a group remained well below those of the non-disabled. They felt,

> Neither is the outlook for the disabled particularly encouraging. The assets of the disabled fall far below those held by units with no disabled persons. Less than half have any hospitalization insurance. In consequence, many of the disabled express attitudes which reflect discouragement about planning ahead and future improvements in their income situations.

Morgan and associates' conclusion that "while additional rehabilitation aid is sorely needed, the problem of optimum distribution remains perplexing,"[9] highlights an issue of great concern for social planners, and a human need area that merits expanded consideration.

Utilization of Health Services

To a considerable extent the less desirable health status of the poor suggested by most studies reflects more basic factors than the adequacy of helath care services, such as nutrition, housing, sanitary practices, and exposure to infectious agents.[10] Horton and Leslie note that many of the "poor live in an environment filled with violence and hazard, where death or inquiry through assault, fire, accident, or environmental pollution is a constant threat. The poor and near-poor more often work at hazardous occupations. Finally, their access to medical care is limited in a number of ways."[11]

While the availability of health services is a basic factor, their actual utilization and effectiveness in meeting the medical needs of a population depends on a variety of personal, social and organizational features. The mere presence of medical manpower and facilites in a county or area does not itself render any evaluative insight into the efficiency with which the care is available nor the equity by which services are distributed. Efforts to improve the efficiency of health care systems are sometimes insufficient to reach members of lower socio-economic groups who, due to inadequate knowledge, disequal purchasing power, and less self-sufficiency, may feel overwhelmed and unable to cope with the seemingly incomprehensible and alienating process of being subjected to medical care.[12]

Table 3 shows the rate per 1,000 population of physician attended visits in the United States in 1973 by patient characteristics. The utilization rate for both out patient clinics and emergency rooms is highest among the lowest income population. Table 4, which shows the rate of visits to physicians in various settings by selected patient characteristics,shows a higher rate of utilization of physicians services for lower income families. The higher rate of utilization of physicians services of the lowest income families and the progressive decrease in utilization of physician services with increased family income under $10,000 could be an artifact of 1) a greater medical need among lower income families, or 2) a greater availability of no cost or lost cost medical services for the low income which permits a larger proportion of the medical needs of the poor to be met.

TABLE 3

NUMBER AND RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION OF PHYSICIAN ATTENDED VISITS IN SHORT-STAY GENERAL HOSPITAL OUTPATIENT CLINICS AND EMERGENCY ROOMS BY SELECTED PATIENT CHARACTERISTICS, UNITED STATES, 1973

CHARACTERISTIC	TOTAL		OUTPATIENT CLINICS		EMRGENCY ROOMS	
	Number in thousands	Rate	Number in thousands	Rate	Number in thousands	Rate
Total	110,018	534.6	69,947	339.9	40,071	194.7
AGE						
Under 15 years	28,964	519.9	14,831	266.2	14,133	253.7
15-44 years	46,434	531.9	27,398	313.8	19,036	218.1
45-64 years	23,528	553.2	18,524	435.5	5,004	117.6
65 years and over	11,092	547.7	9,195	454.0	1,897	93.7
SEX						
Male	49,702	500.8	29,347	295.7	20,355	205.1
Female	60,316	566.0	40,600	381.0	19,716	185.0
COLOR						
White	82,676	459.8	50,824	282.7	31,852	177.1
All Other	27,342	1,052.0	19,123	735.8	8,219	316.2

FAMILY INCOME

Less than $3,000	13,720	838.2	10,053	614.1	3,667	224.0
$3,000-$4,999	14,846	800.8	10,868	586.2	3,978	214.6
$5,000-$6,999	11,944	554.5	7,073	328.4	4,871	226.1
$7,000-$9,999	14,682	488.1	9,524	316.6	5,158	171.5
$10,000-$14,999	24,185	474.9	14,210	279.0	9,975	195.9
$15,000-$24,999	17,677	448.3	9,651	244.8	8,026	203.6
$25,000 or more	5,898	417.9	3,651	258.7	2,247	159.2
Unknown	7,066	---	4,916	---	2,149	---

Source: The Nation's Use of Health Resources (Washington: DHEW Publication No. HRA 77-1240), p. 30.

TABLE 4

NUMBER AND RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION OF VISITS TO PHYSICIANS IN VARIOUS SETTINGS BY SELECTED PATIENT CHARACTERISTICS, UNITED STATES, 1973

CHARACTERISTIC	VISITS	
	NUMBER	RATE
TOTAL	47,079,000	228.8
AGE		
Under 15 years	12,512,600	224.6
15-44 years	23,437,100	268.5
45-64 years	8,880,200	208.3
65 years and over	2,249,100	111.1
SEX		
Male	22,674,400	228.5
Female	24,404,700	229.0
COLOR		
White	38,356,700	213.3
All Other	8,722,400	335.6
FAMILY INCOME		
Less than $3,000	9,796,700	598.5
$3,000-$4,999	6,177,400	333.2
$5,000-$6,999	4,156,100	192.9
$7,000-$9,999	4,573,400	152.0
$10,000-$14,999	9,939,600	195.2

$15,000-$24,999	6,043,000	153.3
$25,000 or more	3,975,600	281.7
Unknown	2,417,200	---

Source: Same as Table 3, p.37

VITAL RATES IN MISSISSIPPI

Examination of comparative vital statistics provides a revealing picture of the health level of a population at different points in time, or between different regions and population groups at the same time. Comparative measures of mortality, especially among infants and children, may highlight manifestations of ill health.

Birth and Death Rates

Although the birth rate in Mississippi, following the national trend, has decreased, it remains comparatively high. The Mississippi rate of 19.0 in 1974 was considerably higher than the national rate (Table 5). Even so, there has been distinct longitudinal decrease in the birth rate in Mississippi (Table 12).

TABLE 5

BIRTH RATE AND DEATH RATE,
MISSISSIPPI AND UNITED STATES, 1974

	MISSISSIPPI	UNITED STATES
Birth Rate	19.0	14.9
Death Rate	10.0	9.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976, pp. 55, 63.

Natality in Mississippi shows significant differentials by racial categories. The nonwhite birth rate has exceeded the white race by significant differentials in recent years (Table 5). Other natality measures, as the fertility rate, illegitimacy rate, and children ever born show similar differentials. Higher fertility is generally correlated with less education and income.[13]

The Mississippi death rate in 1974 was 10.0 Although this is close to the national average, only six states had higher death rates in 1974.

TABLE 6

DEATH RATES SELECTED YEARS,
MISSISSIPPI, 1913-1975

YEAR	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1913	11.4	9.3	13.0
1920	12.3	19.3	15.1
1930	13.0	10.2	15.7
1940	10.6	8.6	12.6
1950	9.4	8.0	11.2
1951	9.6	8.1	11.5
1952	9.5	7.9	11.4
1953	9.4	8.0	11.1
1954	8.9	8.0	10.0
1955	8.9	8.0	10.0
1956	9.4	8.7	10.2
1957	9.7	9.0	10.5
1958	9.9	8.4	11.9
1959	9.4	8.0	11.4
1960	10.0	8.9	11.4
1961	9.7	8.8	11.0
1962	10.0	9.0	11.6
1963	10.2	9.0	11.9
1964	9.7	8.8	11.1
1965	9.7	9.2	10.4
1966	9.9	9.4	10.5
1967	9.6	9.0	10.5
1968	10.2	9.3	11.7
1969	10.8	10.0	12.1
1970	10.5	9.8	11.8
1971	10.6	NA	NA
1972	10.5	NA	NA
1973	10.4	NA	NA
1974	9.9	NA	NA
1975	9.7	NA	NA

Source: Statistical Services Unit, Mississippi State Board of Health.

Infant, Neonatal, and Maternal Mortality

Infant, neonatal, and maternal mortality are regarded as primary measures of the health level of a population. For example, the infant death rate has been described as a social problem rather than a medical one in the sense that it is a vital indicator of the present and future well being of a population. The infant mortality rate in Mississippi has consistently exceeded the national rate. Nonwhite infant mortality has been and continues to be far greater than the white rate. Infant mortality, which is closely correlated with socio-economic conditions and cultural habits, is one of the strongest indicators of disadvantage among a population group.[14]

Nationwide, infant mortality rates are higher in isolated (relatively remote from any large urban center) and nonmetropolitan counties. Higher than national rates are generally found in States in the low and middle range of State per capita income. Similarly, maternal mortality has been found to be above the national average in isolated rural areas and small towns.[15]

There has been a long term decline in Mississippi's infant mortality rate (Table 7). This decline, which has been particularly noticeable since 1966, coincides with the introduction of federal programs designed to improve the living conditions of the poor population.[16]

TABLE 7

INFANT MORTALITY RATE* SELECTED YEARS
MISSISSIPPI, 1920-1975

	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1920	80.0	59.9	101.1
1930	68.3	51.0	84.5
1940	54.5	46.4	60.9
1950	36.4	28.1	42.6
1960	41.5	26.2	54.4
1970	29.1	19.3	39.7
1971	23.2	15.5	31.8
1974	22.8	NA	NA
1975	22.3	NA	NA

*Number of deaths of children under one year of age per 1,000 live births.

Source: Same as Table 6

The dramatic improvement notwithstanding, Mississippi still has a comparatively high infant mortality rate. The infant mortality rate of 22.3 in 1975 was considerably higher that the national rate (16.0), and, in fact, was the highest of all the States.[17]

TABLE 8
INFANT MORTALITY RATE, WHITE AND OTHER RACES, MISSISSIPPI, 1973 AND 1974

YEAR	MISSISSIPPI		UNITED STATES	
	WHITE	OTHER	WHITE	OTHER
1973	17.0	35.6	15.8	26.2
1974	15.4	31.3	14.8	24.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1975, p. 63; 1976, p. 64.

Neonatal mortality, which refers to deaths of infants under 28 days of age, shows the same trend. Although the overall rate has decreased over time, the differential between white and nonwhite rates reflects differential living conditions and cultural practices.

TABLE 9

NEONATAL MORTALITY RATE* SELECTED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI, 1924-1975

	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1924	36.4	32.9	39.8
1930	35.3	30.8	39.4
1940	30.7	39.4	31.7
1950	22.4	20.6	23.8
1960	25.3	20.2	29.6
1970	20.3	15.7	25.2
1975	15.5	NA	NA

*Number of deaths of infants under 28 days of age per 1,000 live births.

Source: Same as Table 6

For many years midwivery was a flourishing activity in Mississippi. In 1921 there were over 4,000 practicing midwives in the State. While they served a useful purpose in the delivery of health services to Mississippians in rural areas, ninety percent were illiterate and combined superstition with practical experience in their ministrations. In 1975, only 217 active granny midwives were registered with the Board of Health, and they were under the supervision of the county health department.[18] Less than four percent of the nonwhite births and less than one percent of the white births in 1975 were attended by a granny midwife.

Improved prenatal care, physician attended births, and possibly "family planning" are among the likely factors which account for the decrease in maternal mortality in Mississippi.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF LIVE BIRTHS IN HOSPITALS OR CLINICS, SELECTED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI, 1945-1975

	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1940	14.1	27.1	3.9
1945	NA	63.3	8.1
1950	46.1	83.3	18.9
1954	NA	94.4	32.9
1960	73.2	99.0	51.3
1970	90.0	99.7	79.7
1975	97.9	99.6	96.0

Source: 1945-1960 data from John Saunders, et al , Mississippi's Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects (State College: Mississippi State University, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 6) p. 58, and Vital Statistics, Mississippi, 1970 (Jackson: Mississippi State Board of Health); 1940, 1970, 1975: Statistical Services Unit, Mississippi State Board of Health.

Table 11 indicates the long term improvement in maternal mortality in Mississippi:

TABLE 11

MATERNAL DEATH RATES* SELECTED YEARS, MISSISSIPI, 1913-1974

	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1913	108.8	74.1	148.2
1920	89.8	56.6	124.8
1930	101.9	73.7	128.3
1940	62.2	45.9	75.1
1950	25.6	11.0	36.2
1960	10.0	2.9	15.9
1970	7.1	2.0	12.5
1974	2.7	1.7	3.8

*Maternal deaths per 10,000 live births.
Source: Same as Table 6

TABLE 12

LIVE BIRTHS, AND BIRTH RATE, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI 1950-1975

	NUMBER			RATE*		
YEAR	TOTAL	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL	WHITE	NON-WHITE
1950	64,427	27,188	37,239	29.6	22.9	37.6
1951	65,512	27,798	37,714	30.1	23.4	38.1
1952	64,509	28,073	36,436	29.6	23.6	36.8
1953	64,061	28,312	35,749	29.4	23.8	36.1
1954	64,748	28,781	35,967	29.7	24.2	36.3
1955	63,244	27,546	35,698	29.0	23.2	36.0
1956	62,178	27,278	34,900	29.5	23.8	36.2
1957	60,712	26,804	33,908	28.8	23.4	35.2
1958	59,189	26,812	32,377	27.1	20.9	35.9
1959	60,562	27,979	32,583	37.2	20.9	36.6
1960	59,210	27,198	32,012	27.2	21.6	34.8
1961	59,523	27,435	32,088	27.3	21.8	34.8
1962	58,921	27,512	31,409	26.1	20.8	33.5
1963	57,316	26,823	30,493	25.0	19.9	32.4
1964	56,650	25,942	30,708	24.5	18.9	32.5
1965	51,171	23,369	27,802	22.0	17.4	28.2
1966	48,230	22,736	25,494	20.4	16.5	25.9
1967	46,594	22,675	23,919	19.7	15.9	25.6
1968	45,719	22,807	22,912	19.4	15.7	25.4
1969	47,120	24,025	23,095	21.2	17.2	28.0
1970	48,141	24,893	23,248	21.7	17.9	28.2
1971	48,601	25,199	23,402	21.9	18.1	28.4
1972	45,907	23,745	22,162	20.3	NA	NA
1973	44,638	23,119	21,519	19.3	NA	NA
1974	44,032	23,023	21,009	18.9	NA	NA
1975	43,336	22,557	20,777	18.5	NA	NA

*Births per 1,000 population
Source: Same as Table 6

The longterm decline in the Mississippi birthrate may be observed for both the white and nonwhite population (Table 12). The nonwhite birthrate continues to be considerably higher than the white rate. Also, some upward slippage over the late 1960s may be observed for whites and nonwhites.

POVERTY AND NUTRITION

Nutrition is a significant variable in health status. Poor nutrition is closely interrelated with unhealthy living conditions, lack of knowledge, inadequate income, and poor health. While each of these factors may or may not be characteristic of specific poverty families or individuals, these traits tend to found in consortium. Each contributes to the other, and they intermesh in the spectre of chronic poverty. Poor health and inadequate nutrition may, in any given instance, be a result of inadequate income. At the same time, poor health is a major casual agent in the inability to be more productive economically. Studies of family development and nutrition in Mississippi have indicated that nutritional status is highly interrelated with overall familial characteristics and purchasing power.[19]

Effect of Nutrition on Health

Professor Donald Pinkel, former director of St. Jude's Research Hospital in Memphis, has been quoted that,

> Life, Liberty & the Pursuit of Happiness are impossible if you're stunted in infancy, physically and mentally. For if the brain cells don't develop in the first six months of life, they never will. And without enough brain cells, you can't learn. If you're anemic, as almost all malnourished children are, you don't even have the energy to try. Poor diet makes for poor people.[20]

It has been estimated that one-third of the health problems of the elderly are related to rotten nutrition,[21] including certain syndromes of mental depression, anemia, osteoporosis, and diabetes.[22] A study in middle Tenessee indicated that ony ten percent of the sample had diets rated as satisfactory in seven basic nutrients. "Children in Mississippi," compiled by a team of physicians working under the auspices of the Field Foundation, documented several counties in which malnutrition was widespread and vitamin and mineral defiiencies were common. This report concluded that many Mississippi poor "were living under such primitive conditions that we found it hard to believe we were examining children of the 20th century."[23] A study of black children in Noxubee and Oktibbeha Counties found that about one-third of the children examined had low hemoglobin levels.[24]

Improving the Nutritional Level of Poverty Families

The food stamp program permits recipients to purchase food coupons in various denominations and use them like cash for most food items. Table 12 shows the participants in the program by year as well as the total value of coupons.

The food stamp program has now replaced the old commodity distribution program which began in 1935 and provided excellent qualtiy food free of charge to eligible households. The latter program was discontinued as of June 30, 1974 by Congressional mandate in the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of August, 1973. As of that time eight Mississippi counties participated in the commodity distribution program. As of June, 1975, all 82 counties in Mississippi were participating in the Food Stamp Program.[25]

Participation of Mississippians in food stamps increased from 191,000 in 1969 to 347,000 in 1973 (Table 12). The total value of coupons issued in Mississippi in 1975 was over $162 million. Administration expenses have been described as excessively high, running some 10 percent of the benefit at the federal level and five percent at the local level.[26] Nationally, administrative costs are estimated to be about 9 percent of the amount transferred under the program. The food stamp statement of expenditures for Mississippi in fiscal 1974-75 involved $4.7 million for salary and fringe payments and $6 million in total administrative expenditures.[27] The total amount of bonus coupons (difference between value of coupons issued and purchase requirements) was almost $72 million,[28] representing a considerable increase in marketing potential for merchandisers.

TABLE 13

FOOD STAMP DISTRIBUTION, NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS AND VALUE OF COUPONS, MISSISSIPPI, 1969-1975

	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969
Participants (1,000)	390	335	347	330	308	281	191
Value of Coupons($) (Million)	162.6	117.3	106.2	88.1	87.8	47.3	29.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, various editions.

Development of the Food Stamp Program

The current food stamp program had its origin in 1964 Congressional Legislation. In the late 1960s many counties began switching from the commodity program to food stamps. A "rediscovery of hunger"[29] in the Mississippi Delta where "nothing in American agriculture competes with the size, wealth, and efficiency of the cotton farms...of the rich lands...,"[30] seems to have been a major factor in the increase in the benefit levels of the program enacted into law on January 11, 1971. This liberalization greatly increased the size of the program, leading the Senate Select Committee on nutrition and human needs to state that "food" stamps are now clearly fulfilling their potential as the nation's best antihunger tool.[31]

Expansion has been accompanied by increased controversy over the program. The liberality of eligibility has been a particular issue, while sympathetic observers have entered numerous caveats to the program's administration and effectiveness. The program costs about two-thirds of the total budget of the Department of Agriculture. The fact that the food stamp program expands the demand for agricultural products nationally by $3 billion a year "has not gone unnoticed by farmers and retail store owners."[32]

Whatever its merit or demerit on other grounds, the food stamp program does diminish the gain a family would derive from an increase in earnings since the cost of stamps increases with income at an implicit tax rate of 30 percent.[33] The distortion in consumption patterns (necessitating a larger expenditure for food than a family would prefer if given cash benefits,or than they prefer to make given current income) of participating families "means that the subsidy under the food stamp programs is worth less to the recipients than an equivalent amount of cash they could spend as they wish.[34] Clarkston has estimated that a transfer of $1 under the program is worth only $.80 to recipients on the average.

From the outset the food program involved a curious assemblage of motives and attitudes, with concern for feeding the poor tied to a desire to maintain demand for farm products[36] and to clear warehouses of the surplus accumulations of government price-support programs.[37] While food stamps are said to "protect the welfare client from spending for any other purpose money that his caseworker and the Department of Agriculture believe should be spent for food,"[38] they constitute a form of compulsory budgeting which ties up a large proportion of family's purchasing power in food script. So long as income remains inadequate, the desire to retain purchasing flexibility with income available rather than restrict it to food purchases discourages participation.[39] Some have noted that the visibility of food stamp purchases advertises the "user's poverty status to neighbors, bystanders, and sale clerks."[40] In addition to Steins' observation that "the process does not enhance dignity", it may well contribute to public agitation over the program by raising the cupidity of observers hard pressed to hold their own food budget in manageable levels who observe seemingly casual purchases by food stamp beneficiaries at more favorable terms and in greater quantities than they themselves can afford.

The per capita value of commodity distributions was much lower than the per capita value of food stamps. However, research has shown that increased food consumption does not necessarily improve nutritional levels of poor families. Studies have indicated that the consumption patterns of recipients are altered toward more delectable foods and convenience serve items, but not toward more nutricious diets.[41]

Reforming the Food Stamp Program

A number of suggestions have been made for improvement of the food stamp program if its elimination and return to a commodity program is not deemed feasible. Among these, some of which do not necessitate federal initiative, are the following:

1) Elimination of participation by students, persons involved in labor disputes, military personnel, public employees, and remittance progeny of high income families.[42]

2) A serious concentrated, systematic, and continuous program in detection and prosecution of fraud and illegality in the program as constituted.[43]

3) Insure "that individuals with substantial personal holdings are not subsidized by those who have less property"[44] by utilization of the asset limitations used in the supplemental security income program ($25,000 for house; $1,200 for a car).[45]

4) Prohibition of any family receiving food stamps "if an able bodied adult is available and if that able-bodied adult does not register and accept employment at the minimum wage..."[46]

5) Expansion of the food stamp allotment by a sufficient amount to bring all eligibles up to the low-cost diet plan.[47]

While defenders of the poor have attempted to correct abuses, their efforts have received considerable opposition from opponents of "responsible government programs."[48] Abdnor has observed that "food stamp assistance should be consonent with other federal procedures for identifying and assisting the involuntarily needy."[49] A system of block grants to the States would seem to serve as an incentive to efficient administration. Elimination of the "purchase requirement" is sometimes suggested as a desirable step. If such a step should be taken, it is estimated that the increased administrative cost in Mississippi would be $2.5 to $3 million since "when people know they can get something gor nothing, then there is greater participation--even though they may not use the items."[50]

Improving Nutritional Status

Improved nutritional status is heavily dependent on good homemaking and consumer purchase practices. These variables take on added importance for persons who must plan with restricted incomes. Often poor persons are the least knowledgable about how to maximize the value of the resources which they have available. Specialists in home economics, sociology, and other discipline at land grant colleges have engaged in extensive research in access to and communication of ideas among low income families, as well as in the basics of homemaking practices. Programs drawing on the skills of extension specialists, welfare workers and communtiy action personnel for a consortium of effort in communicating and applying the research findings in homemaking and adoption of improved procedures to the question of improving the nutritional pay off of the food stamp program would seem to be in order.[51]

POVERTY AND HEALTH CARE

Health care, though not necessarily the most important ingredient in a people's health level, is one of the important factors. Whitle the data is contradictory on the comparative utilization of health services by socio-economic level,[52] some studies support the proposition that illness is not adequately treated and preventive services are not as frequently available for the poor.[53]

Providing Health Services for the Poor

The public provision of health care services is a relatively direct way of redistributing resources and reducing the amount of income necessary for a given level-of-living. Since provision of free or reduced cost health services is often an effective substitute for income with which to attempt to purchase such services, they may effectively raise families and individuals beyond the poverty level as measured by monetary income when the value of services is taken into the calculation.[54]

Although public provision of health services has long been available to groups which qualified for recipient privilieges,[55] free health care for the poor traditionally has been dependent on charity from hospitals, private practitioners and organizations and local governments. Public acceptance of part of the extensive burden of health care expenditures utilized by the aged is reflected in the 1965 amendments to the Social Security Act which established the Medicare Program for the elderly. The same amendments also established Medicaid, a program for medical assistance for the poor.

Medicaid

Mississippi began participation in Medicaid on January 1, 1970. This program, administered by the Mississippi Medicaid Commission, makes the benefits of the program available to persons whose income qualifies them for public assistance grants previously administered by the Mississippi Department of Public Welfare, plus specified other categories of needy persons. These include persons whose income level and/or health status meet the qualifications for the previous welfare grants program under the old age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled, according to the 1972 eligibility standards, plus children for whom Mississippi public agencies are assuming financial responsibility, persons under 21 who would qualify for ADC except for school attendance, persons who would qualify for money payments under the above programs if they left the medical facility in which they are patients, and persons whose income exceeds the eligibility standards, but whose income has been "spent down" for medical services to the point where the surplus has been depleted.

TABLE 14

MONTHLY AVERAGE OF PERSONS ELIGIBLE FOR MEDICAID SERVICES, BY SOURCE OF QUALIFICATION, MISSISSIPPI, FISCAL YEARS 1970 - 1975

YEAR	TOTAL	OAA	AB	APTD	AFDC*	OTHER
1976	309,430	83,922	1,921	28,626	194,443	483
1975	313,811	85,145	1,994	29,350	197,037	674
1974	311,564	85,146	2,084	29,265	194,449	620
1973	290,472	88,879	2,188	28,325	176,461	619
1972	266,901	79,468	2,208	26,905	157,820	500
1971	217,555	79,560	2,193	25,665	110,137	---
1970	199,050	74,943	2,126	22,030	99,951	---

*Includes children and adults

Source: Annual reports of the Mississippi Medicaid Commission, 1971-1976.

Medicaid expenditures in 1976 were made for nursing home services (18.1% increase over 1975), inpatient hospital services (which, combined with nursing home charges, accounted for circa one-half of all medicare expenditures in FY 1976), outpatient hospital charges, laboratory and x-ray charges, physician's fees, early periodic screening of children and adults under age 21, "family planning"[56] services and artifacts, drugs, outpatient hospital services, glasses, and payments of medicare premiums.

During fiscal year 1976, 359,584 persons in Mississippi were eligible for medicaid. Nealry one-half (49.2%) of this amount consisted of AFDC children, while AFDC adults accounted for another 14.2% The Old Age Assistance category accounted for over one-fourth (26.5%) of the remainder. Persons who qualified due to blindness (less than 1%) or permanent disability (9.2%) accounted for smaller proportions of elgibles (Table 15).

TABLE 15

MONTHLY AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEDICAID ELIGIBLES AND RECIPIENTS BY PROGRAM CATEGORY, AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL, MISSISSIPPI, FISCAL YEAR 1976

PROGRAM CATEGORY	ELIGIBLES	RECIPIENTS
	100%	100%
OAA	27.1	40.4
AB	0.6	0.8
APTD	9.2	14.5
AFDC Children	48.7	28.9
AFDC Adults	14.1	15.3
CWS Foster Care	0.2	0.1

Source: Annual Report of the Medicaid Commission 1976

While the monthly average of medicaid eligibles decreased from FY 1975 to FY 1976 (Table 14), the number of recipients of services increased by 6.6% to a monthly average of 143,561 persons. Circa 45% of this number were AFDC children and adults and circa 40% qualified via old age assistance (Table 15). Some 83.4% of the medicaid eligibles received services during FY 1976(Table 16).

TABLE 16

PROPORTION OF MEDICAID ELIGIBLES UTILIZING SERVICES, BY PROGRAM CATEGORY, MISSISSIPPI, FISCAL YEAR, 1976

PROGRAM CATEGORY	UTILIZATION RATE
TOTAL	83.4
OAA	91.5
AB	85.5
APTD	94.7
AFDC Children	76.3
AFDC Adults	85.4
CWS Foster Care	82.0

Source: Same as Table 15.

TABLE 17

AVERAGE MEDICAID EXPENDITURE PER ELIGIBLE, BY PROGRAM CATEGORY, MISSISSIPPI, FISCAL YEARS, 1972-1976

	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972
OAA	672	669	513	382	364
AB	472	422	408	281	284
APTD	737	683	611	437	438
AFDC Children	107	89	80	55	52
AFDC Adults	268	277	253	276	121
TOTALS	142	330	273	203	198

Source: Annual Reports of the Medicaid Commission.

Medicare is financed by a combination of State and federal funds. Expenditures during FY 1976 was $99 million federal and $30 million State funds(Chart 1). Circa 500 individual physicians, hospitals, drug stores and other entities in Mississippi received in excess of $50,000 each in Medicaid during fiscal 1976.[57] In Bolivar County alone, three physicians aided the poor with medicaid services of $190,000, and $174,400, and $100,600 respectively, while an additional ten physicians and two dentists in Bolivar County assisted the poor with services reimbursed by medicaid from $20,000 to $60,000 each.[58]

It would seem that medicaid must be playing an increased roll in providing needed health care services for the State's poor. Specific local data, however, on the extent to which Medicaid represents specific gains to the poor in terms of services which were not available before Medicaid, or which would not otherwise be available, are lacking.[59] Distributional side effects of the program, the degree to which it replaced services otherwise available before the program, and inadequate knowledge of utilization rates by demographic characteristics make it impossible to equate increased expenditures with an increase in benefits received.[60]

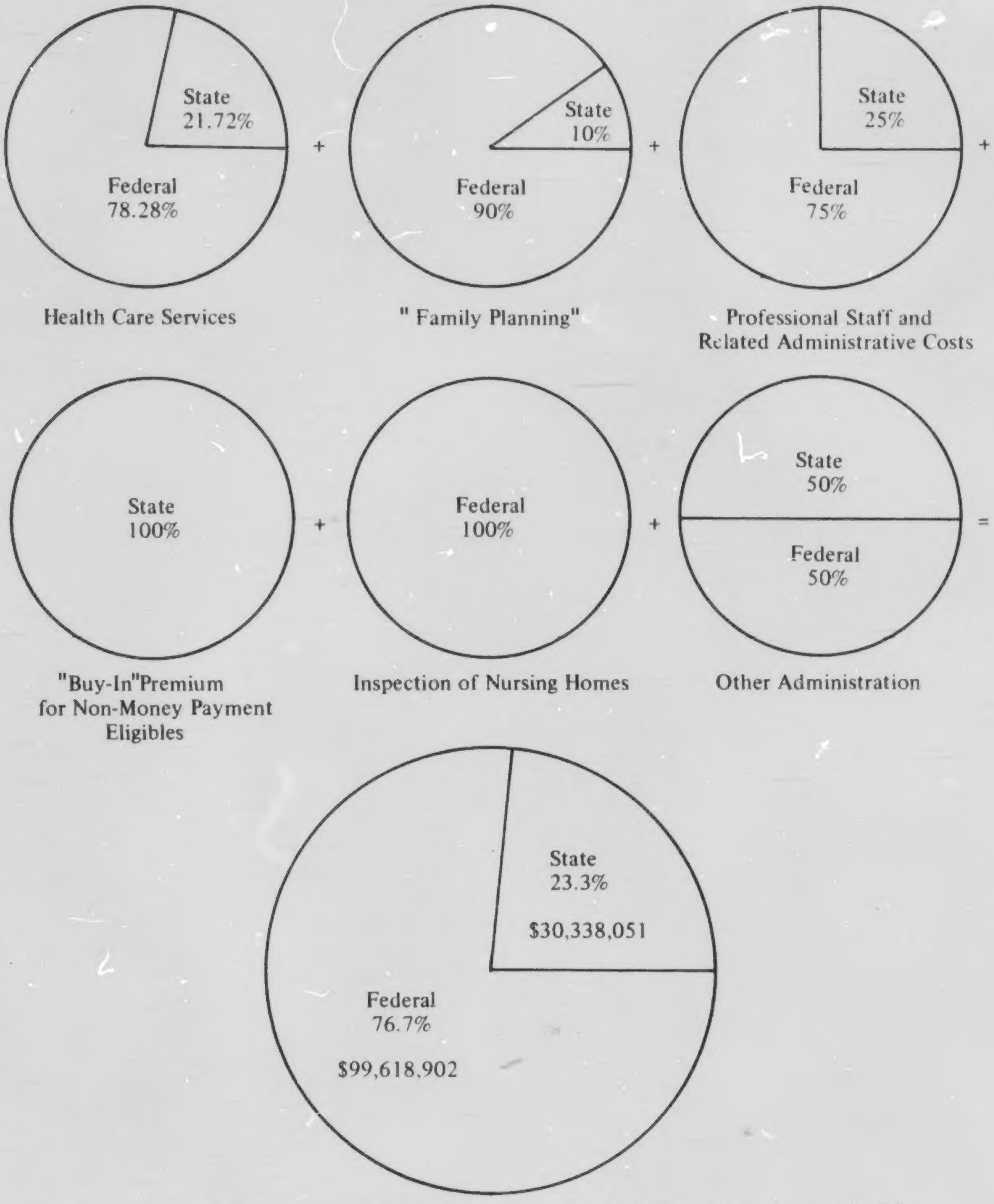
Pitfalls in Medicaid

The matching fund program presupposes that States have the resources to finance their part of the costs. It has been noted that Mississippi, though having the lowest per capita income of any State, already surpasses 26 richer States in welfare expenditures. This raises a serious question of whether Mississippi and other low-income States can be expected to bear added financial burdens "in extending a more adequate range of care to the medically indigent."[61]

Several studies in various states have indicated that Medicaid has permitted an increased usage of health services by the poor, particularly for specialty services wherein poor persons whose ills had previously gone unattended sought and obtained medical assistance pursuant to Medicaid.[62] Theoretically, the health care access problems of the poor ought to be solved by Medicaid.[63] However, studies have shown that in reality Medicaid's prospect of making comprehensive care available to the poor is yet to be fulfilled. Piel has observed that the reinforcement of the health care system by federal dollars has encouraged resort to the most costly modes of care, hospitalization, and surgery.[64] Furthermore, the welfare features in Medicaid are said to exert an economic bias in favor of acute episodic care rather than continual and preventive care, while many poor and near-poor families who do not fall into one or another welfare category are totally excluded.[65]

Moynihan claims that the prime charge to be made against Medicaid is that it enhances the advantages of dependency by sharply increasing the rewards to female-headed or families dependent on public assistance and, in effect, provides penalties for moving out of dependency.[66] For a family with income near the eligibility threshold, increased income or a decision to work longer hours can prove to be financial suicide. This effect has been meditated some-

Figure 1
TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR MEDICAID PROGRAM, BY SOURCE OF FUNDING, MISSISSIPPI
JULY 1, 1975 - JUNE 30, 1976



Source: Mississippi Medicaid Commission, Seventh Annual Report, p. 13.

1970) are largely responsible for the upsurge. The sharp decrease in the number of patients carried wholly or partially by welfare is due to increased coverage under Medicare and Medicaid which provided benefits to certain nursing homes for the first time in 1973.[71]

TABLE 19

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF NEW ADMISSIONS, LICENSED FACILITIES FOR CARE OF THE AGED, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

	NUMBER				
Source of Funds	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Total					
Medicare	6,268	7,073	6,915	5,703	5,952
Medicaid	3,376	3,193	1,774	773	501
Patients and/or Relatives	987	1,182	1,558	1,579	1,547
VA Sponsored	202	172	158	201	140
Welfare Only	272	128	129	129	46
Welfare and other	1,412	284	433	494	110
Other	9	9	74	25	6
No Fee Charged	10	1	4	5	2

	PERCENT				
Source of Funds	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Medicare	53.9	45.4	25.6	12.8	8.4
Medicaid	--	29.4	40.3	44.5	60.5
Patients and/or Relatives	15.7	16.8	22.5	27.7	26.0
VA Sponsored	3.2	2.4	2.3	3.5	2.4
Welfare Only	4.3	1.8	1.9	2.3	0.8
Welfare and other	22.5	4.0	6.3	8.7	1.8
Other	0.1	0.1	1.1	0.4	0.1
No Fee Charged	0.2	--	--	0.1	--

Source: Statistical Abstract, Mississippi, and Mississippi State Board of Health, Report on Mississippi Institution for the Aged or Infirm, 1973.

Note: Above data applies to licensed facilities for care of the aged. However, about 10% of the new admissions are persons less than 65 years old.

what by the spend-down provisions enacted into law with the Supplemental Income Security provisions effective January 1, 1974. The objective concensus seems to be that the Medicaid program has increased the access of eligible low-income households to medical care. However, the program has been so seriously flawed that there has been a constant agitation for replacement or extensive revision.[67]

Medicare

In 1965, after years of controversy over the status of health care access and delivery for the aged, Medicare was established as a federal program of payments for medical services used by the aged. Beginning July 1, 1966, nearly all persons over age 65 became eligible for the medicare program. The basic plan, described as the "hospital insurance" provision, covers certain charges for persons eligible for monthly social security allotments. The supplemental aspect of medicare, known as "medical insurance," is voluntary rather than automatic for social security drawers, and requires that participants sign up and pay a token fee. Although the semblance of "insurance" is maintained by small monthly premiums (which are paid by the medicaid program for qualified beneficiaries), neither the "medical insurance" nor the basic "hospital insurance" component represent legitimate "insurance" in terms of their financing. Both components are financed by general tax revenues and by special regressive taxes on current wage earners.[68]

Some 270,353 Mississippians were medical beneficiaries of Medicare in 1974, and drew benefits of more than $100 million.[69]

TABLE 18

MEDICARE ENROLEES, MISSISSIPPI, 1966 - 1974

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Enrollees (Thosuands)	210	215	218	129	224	229	234	266

Source: Social Security Bulletin, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1973, p. 149.

Table 18 shows the number and percent of new medical admissions in facilities licensed for the care of the aged in Mississippi for 1969-1973. As of December 31, 1973, Mississippi had a total of 126 licensed institutions for the aged or infirm with 54 of the 82 counties having at least one of this type of health care resource. The count of institutions and the total counties involved were the highest rereported since the State Board of Health began preparing reports thereon in 1961.[70] Medicaid (effective 1967) and Medicare (effective 1970) are largely responsible for the upsurge.[71]

Peculiar Access Problems of the Elderly

The inordinate health needs of the elderly and the inadequacy of the American system of organization and access to health care facilities combine to create both a medical and economic problem of major importance. The United States is sometimes pointed to as one of the few countries in the world where medical care is regarded by its disbursers as a privilege rather than a right.[72] Roul Touley, among numerous other observers, has argued that the American system of the organization of and access to health care has done an especially poor job in looking after the health of aged citizens. Though somewhat improved with the advent of Medicare, Touley claims that other countries provide medical care to the elderly without classification. The standardized AMA (American Medical Association) answer according to Touley is that most older people are well off financially. Touley's chapter on "The American Way of Growing Old" in his book The American Health Scandal brings home some of the tragedy of the inadequacy of the private resources of many aged to finance their medical necessities. "Fundamentally," he states, "we like to think of our parents as assets. The moment you have to support your parents your attitude changes."[73]

Low Social Value of the Elderly

Aging individuals have traditionally been regarded as surplus commodities.[74] With their increasing presence, the disdain if not the outright disregard for the aged as surplus commodities may well increase. Western society, heretofore never having to cope with considerable numbers of the aged, has not evolved clear patterns of extended care except other than that which the family may be misfortunately trapped into rendering by circumstance. With the exception of the visibly powerful in the military, industrial, or political positions, or those exceptionally circumstanced by affluence, the care has been largely unsupervised minimal maintenance facilities or charitable almshouses where the aged were fed, clothed, and bedded down. Larger, better staffed, more conscientous institutions run by religious and other organizations for their own clientele have been an exception. Generally, medical care facilites have been on a consultative basis, and that, reportedly, frequently based on telephone conversations between the physician and the attendant. The result has been custodial care with the primary goal of keeping the resident from becoming so agitated as to disturb the staff routines.

> "In the overview, there appears to be lacking a total system of care for the aged. . . The approach taken to the aged patient today is to infantile...We have the zoo or pet model of hospital care: it is easier for the doctor (physician) or nurse to take care of a patient than to teach him to take care of himself. We have seen professionals walk up to patients, pat them on the head, and refer to them as if they were cocker spaniels instead of people. By so doing, we cut them off from the community. A few of them we elevate to the status of pets, which, if they are

completely passive, learn to purr...[75]

That the elderly person is likely to receive less attention and be provided with fewer opportunities than younger persons is a phenomenon true in virtually all aspects of society. This is reportedly true in terms of medical and psychiatric care where "the aged person in the United States is, generally speaking, a member of a deprived minority group."[76]

Some aspects of the medical problem faced by the aged are social rather than medical. It is frequently pointed out that the low status of the elderly is reinforced by their high likelihood of a lack of payoff because the physician does not find it rewarding to fight losing battles in his role as healer-curer. Thus the low probability of recovery from many degenerative diseases prominent among the aged may lower the physician's regard for the patient. The elderly reportedly sometimes feel they are shunned aside because of their low social value, with only minimal effort made to give them maximal assistance in medical crises situations. Our emphasis on children, youth, and beauty has possibly detracted from recruitment of qualified people to work with the aged.[77]

Inferior Status of the Ill

An important service of a personal physician is that of providing an input pathway into the increasingly complex system of medical care. The loss of a longtime physician because of death, illness, or retirement may force the older patient to seek entry into the health care system without guidance. To consult a new, much younger and perhaps seemingly "slicker" and business-oriented physician who may not transmit the same aura of rapport and security as the older one may be an especially burdensome travail for the patient.

Commenting on the communication barriers between physician and patient, Professor Eisdorfer, himself a physician, observes that the aged patient's use of the physician as a confidant often runs counter to the expectation of the businessman-practitioner. The communication problem may be compounded by the generational differnece between physicians and patients: "Young and middle-aged patients will see physicians who are likely to be older than the patients are initially. The probability is high that the physician may die before these patients, and, as a result, late-in-life patients are required to look for a new physician. "As in every other dyadic relationship, there is no immediate rapport. Very often...the patient is unable to go to a physician who is better suited to his personal needs."[78]

Benitez has observed that one of the major characteristics of large systems is a desenitizing that occurs as a by-product of large organizations which are impersonal coordinators of activities and programs although they very often deal with very personal aspects of life. "Sometimes an organization prizes its function but despises its consumers." Benitez explains:[79]

> No matter what organization, system, program or agency, the first connection that is made to help the older person is the human connection. Mrs. Smith may try to connect with something like "you have more important things to do than take care of my few problems; other people need you more." That's what people think they are supposed to say...Those who know older people well are not so easily fooled. Mrs. Smith's words are a disquised plea to care. She is afraid of being refused again.

The consumers of medical service, and perhaps particularly older persons, who may keenly sense their lack of social value, often find it difficult to adapt to impersonal large systems of the health and welfare complex. The older physician with whom one feels he will not be written off because of his age, and whom one does not fear--perhaps who treated him when he did have social value-- may play an invaluable helping and assuring role for patients whose diagnostic or treatment problems throw them into contacts with large impersonal systems.[80]

Aspects of Sick Role Behavior

Sick role behavior signals the summation of symptons into a definite position wherein the person conceptualizes himself as sick. Sick role behavior refers to the manner in which the individual defines illness, and how readily and in what manner he assumes or leaves the sick role. Youman's studies of the rural aged suggest that while rural elderly are more frequently restricted in their activities, they tend to complain less about their infirmities. Conceivably, poorer health may be accepted as a way of life among the rural elderly. Another suggestion is that the differential has something to do with the image of the rural dweller as an independent and resourceful person whose self-sufficiency and continual hassle with adversity keeps him from a complaining attitude toward the inevitable.

Studies as well as popular experiences have suggested that acceptance of the sick role, with the right of dependence on others --relatives, friends, physicians -- may be assumed for a variety of reasons. Popular folk wisdom acknowledges the person who assumes the sick role as a method of compelling attention or as a lever of social control. On the other hand, some studies have suggested that the aged may be more inclined to resort to denial of illness. When denial is present, it may be due to any of a number of factors. It may reflect a wish to retain enough of their material goods to pass along an inheritance. The acceptance of illness, with fear of dependency on others or discovery of a fatal or progressive disease may be common factors leading to delay or avoidance of medical care.

Nevertheless, in general, as age increases the frequency of individual contacts with medical pratitioners increases. The degree to which this pattern is entirely due to an increased need for medical services or to which medical services may be disproportionately sought in part because they provide an opportunity for socializing activity in which the life structure is deficient is an unresolved question.

A study of welfare clients attending a community clinic in Memphis showed that older persons kept a significantly greater number of scheduled appointments. Older persons who were unemployed and no longer had children in their homes attended more frequently, as if loneliness and lack of responsibilities resulted in a gravitation to a clinic where the oldster would come in contact with peer group members. It was observed that some of the patients remained for hours after their appointments, sitting, visiting, and exchanging commiserations with others.

Self-reports of health are highly correlated with loneliness and alienation. Elderly persons who report their health is poor are five or six times as likely to report that they are often lonely. The question can be raised whether the old person's conception of himself as ill reshapes his social environment more than does his actual separation from others. Several studies have indicated that people who think they are in poor health, irrespective of living arrangements, are more lonely and alienated than people who think they are in good health.[81]

Oakes[82] has noted that sick-role behavior can become a way of life for reasons apart from actual health problems. He states "most hospital administrators will confirm that this practice is not an isolated example, but is rather typical of the outpatient clinic culture. It becomes a place for fellowship, a haven for the lonely..." Oakes suggests that the establishment of small medical clinics in senior citizen centers located in the central portion of cities would allow the visitor to the clinic to enjoy fellowship with others without disrupting the clinic. Or, senior citizen centers could be purposefully located near existing health facilities.

Economic Impact of Medicaid and Medicare

Although Medicare is available to all age persons without regard to a means test, an OEO report estimated that one-fourth of the Medicare outlays aid the poor in obtaining medical care. This program has doubtless kept others out of poverty, and eased the anxieties of those who have been offered some protection against the unrelenting threat of financial ruin as the result of illness at a point in the life cycle when the individual tends to be more vulnerable to medical pathologies.[83]

Medicaid, by contrast, provides services only to those whose incomes fall below a specified means test. The program is financed on a federal-State cost share basis, with the States determining within certain limits the eligibility standards and the range of services to be covered. Because of the close connection between the cycle of poverty and illness, it was hoped that Medicaid and Medicare would immediately become a significant force in the national attempt to break the poverty cycle. While Medicaid/Medicare have been helpful, the actual operation of both programs have been plagued by a number of difficulties, shortfalls of expectation, and undesirable serendipitous effects which have found them surprisingly and unanticipatedly expensive,[84] less than rationally efficient allocation mechanisms, complex, cumberous, and highly vulneralbe to fraud.[85] There are, as well, notable gaps in the comprehensiveness of services provided as well as in terms of the needy and poor who cannot afford the out-of-pocket expenses required for adequate treatment and preventive care.

Analysis of the economic impact arising from the introduction of Medicare and Medicaid has raised questions as to the actual magnitude of gains which recipients acquire as well as serious questions of equity in the development of health care policy.[86] Under Medicare/Medicaid, the average American family actually paid out $95.00 more of their own money in 1972 than before these programs went into effect in 1965.[87]

The national experience with Medicaid and Medicare has raised public consciousness of the governmental role in health care and health care financing and has pointed in the direction of providing more adequate care to the aged and needy. These programs have also illustrated the difficulties of divorcing a system of public financing from a consideration of the entire spectrum of program impact and needed improvements in the health care field, as well as the limitatons of using target populations for developing a more efficient and equitable means for an overall provision of health services.[88]

REFORM OF THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

There are probably few fields of endeavor in which emotion clouds judgement more unhappily than in the provision of health care. Rhetorical claims about "rights" to medical treatment are easier to express than to implement. Ideas of desirable social morality notwithstanding, there is evidence that countries which have set out to provide "national health insurance" have "been faced not only with the failure of their systems to deliver what was confidently promised, but also with a detertioration in the quality of health services available, accompanied by an apparently uncontrollable rise in cost."[89]

Drug Costs

Hearings of the Monoply Subcommittee of the Senate Small Business Committee have documented that the American people have been forced to pay high and discriminatory prices for drugs. The committee, chaired by Sen. Gaylord Nelson, found that some cities, in buying drugs for public hospitals, pay up to forty times as much for certain drugs as other cities pay. Nelson pointed out, in one example, that New York City purchased one drug for $.57 while Fulton County, Georgia paid $22.60 for the same entity. "Many of our citizens," Nelson stated, "especially the poor and the elderly, are paying as much as $20 for prescription drugs when the same exact drug is available for about $1 under a different name.[90]

One form of exploitation of the consumer by the drug industry is seen in higher prices which are charged consumers as contrasted with the conusmers in foreign countries. The committee found that American drug companies sold to domestic wholesalers at prices one-half to one-third lower if the products were shipped overseas than the price changed if they were to be sold to domestic users.

Figure 2

Comparative Prices Charged by U.S. Drug Companies for Domestic and Foreign Purchases

*The price of 100 tablets of Darvon sold by the Lilly Company to the druggist in the U.S. is $7.02, but the price charged by the same company for the same product in Ireland is $1.66, and in England is $1.92.

*Bristol charges $21.84 for 100 tablets of ampicillan in the U.S., but $9.31 in Ireland.

*Coba charges $3.00 for Doriden in the U.S., but 92 cents in Ireland, $1.23 in New Zealand, and $1.00 in England.

*The Pfizer Company charges $20.48 in the United States for Terramycin, but $4.63 in Brazil and $3.68 in New Zealand.

Source: Sen. Gaylord Nelson, "High Drug Prices Burden the Least Affluent," Viewpoint, 3 (Third Quarter, 1973), p. 6.

In many cases the drugs are sold by the same company under both the brand and generic names. For example, the City of New York bought 1000 Benadryl (50 mg) capsules from Parke-Davis for $15.63 but paid $3.00 to the same company for the same quantity of the same drug, an antihistamine, under its generic name of diphenhydramine.

About one billion dollars annually is spent on prescription drug advertising. This sum represents about $5,000 yearly being spent on each practicing physician to persuade him to prescribe brand name products. Since in most States no other brand of drug can be legally substituted for another if the physician prescribes a brand name, competition is reduced. Townsend claims there exists a substantial body of evidence regarding problems of kickback practices in the pharmaceutical industry which is estimated to cost the federal and State governments eighty million dollars per year. The cost to the patient in terms of pharmaceutical service and money is stated by Townsend as "incalculable."[91]

Absence of Consumer Quality Control

Many Americans have comfortably assumed that as the wealthiest and most beneficiently circumstanced nation on the globe, we must also have the best health record. But, contrary to this assumption, it has been said that in no health statistic does the United States lead the world. Compared with other industrialized nations, the United States ranks 15th in infant mortality, 27th in life expectancy of males, 12th in life expectancy of females, and 28th in life expectancy of males in their middle years.[92] American citizens spend more money on medical care--in both absolute and proportional terms--than the people of any nation in the world. However, this has not been translated into the best medical care.[93]

Perhaps an overriding parameter of health care in America is the absence of any effective role of the citizen in consumer quality control. As Sen. Kennedy[94] has expressed it, "The people pay the piper, but they never call the tune. For too long, the health care system has been a stacked deck operating for the benefit of those who provide the services--the doctors (physicians), the hospitals, and their agents, the insurance companies--rather than for the benefit of those who receive the services." Sen. Kennedy adds: "We have ignored the health 'consumers.' The citizens who have the greatest stake in the health system have had the smallest voice. Until the people gain their rightful role--until the public interest has a seat at every table with the private interests--the health care system of America will continue to be responsive only to the providers, and the consumer will be left out."

Sen. Kennedy feels that "For millions of our citizens, the quality is so poor that they may easily find themselves worse off than before their contact with the system. Tens of millions more have no confidence that the care they receive is right."

> Why, for example, are there four times as many tonsil operations for children on Medi-cal as for other children in California? Why is the figure twice as high under Blue Cross which pays doctors (physicians) by the tonsil, so that it pays to cut them out? Why do we have the same number of neurosurgeons in Massachusetts, with a population of five million people, as they have in England with a population forty million? Could it be because we have allowed the incentives of private interest and personal prestige to run wild, without any countervailing incentive to meet the public interests?
>
> Why does every community hospital need an open heart surgery unit, when we know that 80 percent of the operations are performed in 20 percent of the units? Could it be because Blue Cross and the private carriers are happy to pay the bill, and pass the cost on in the form of escalating premiums? Why do we have twice as much surgery in the United States as in England? Could it be because we have twice as many surgeons? Could it be because we have a Parkinson's law for surgery, which says that the amount of surgery performed in America expands to fill the time of the surgeons available to do it?

Achieving a More Appropriate Access System[95]

There is little question but that a goal of national policy should be a health care delivery system which enables adequate care for all citizens. There is substantial agreement that the present combination of the market mechanism and categorical subsidization is far less adequate than desirable in meeting needs of health care. The distortion in incentives and pricing, and the often noted inefficient organization of delivery through "separation by function, fragmentation by process, segregation by payment"[96] of the nation's third largest industry in terms of the number of people employed results in an allocation of vitally important services at a level that often results in poor, inadequate, financially destructive, or substandard care for large segments of the population.[97] Lower middle-class income affects the impact of even minor expenditures for medical services, transportation, child care arrangements, or loss of work time.[98]

The central question in reform of the health care system is how to convert the aspiration of the theoretically recognized right of access for all into actual access for all..."how to convert an aspiration into skills, services, facilites, and systems available to the people,"[99] Assuming the availability of good medical care for all citizens is desirable (whether by private, public, or combined means), there is an immediate problem:

> ...it is physically and financially beyond the capacity of a great industrial nation to provide for all its citizens all the medical services that our modern level of medical knowledge tells us will or possibly could be helpful to them. In past days...medicine was not very effective but it was inexpensive. Today in many cases it is amazingly effective--but it is also becoming prohibitively expensive. In the United States a combination of government action and other developments have contributed to making medical costs rise far more rapidly than other costs...What we "should" provide, we cannot. And unfortunately it is impossible to predict that we ever will be able to do so at any time in the future. Just as in the past, when the rich could pay for specialists the poor could not afford, there will simply never be enough of certain kinds of specialized medical services for everyone. Many will continue to receive care that they do not need or which does them no good, and others will continue to lack care that might help or cure them. We can improve our performance. We can make progress in the direction of trying to meet more poepele's needs, of trying to insure that no critically ill patient is denied hospital care, of trying to provide preventive medicine on a large scale. But there are simply limits...We inevitably reach those before we have made an end to human suffering.[100]

Establishment of a national health program presents the problem of determining what share of the nation's total resources are to be used for health care. If services are "free", it compounds the disincentive for efficient utilization and raises the question of how suppliers can be collectively signalled they prefer resources for other programs - education, transportation, low-income housing. Arbitrary limits on expenditures may restrict quality and quantity below what consumers want, and raise an unresoluable problem of allocating what is available.

Furthermore, it is useful to look at medical care as a residual solution available when solutions aimed at more fundamental causes are not successful. A program of adequate health care for the poor must simultaneously take into account efforts to deal with the root causes of ill health through health related programs that have important feedbacks to other areas and reduces other social costs, such as family planning, which reduces poverty due to untimely births.[101] Neither is any amount of additional funding, nor even reorganization of the delivery system, likely to have much impact on the fact that many of the nation's major health problems, including alcoholism, veneral disease, many malignant and heart ailments, as well as much infant mortality, are attributable to the living conditions, ignorance, or irresponsibility of the patients rather the sortcomings of medical care providers.[102] The idea that spending more and more on health services will produce a healthier populaiton that will ultimately die a"clinically blameless" death is a fallacious assumption.[103]

There seems to be near if not total concensus among informed observers that additional funds for medical care poured into the present system will create further distortions without markedly improving services.[104] The warning that providers have proved adept at using "planning" as a route of protectionist regulation for incumbent providers is also in order.[105] The problem has been put in perspective by Falk:

> ...merely instituting a bigger or even better health insurance program will not suffice. Better fiscal provisions must be accompanied by provision for more adequate health manpower and facilities, for their more effective utilization, for the achievement of economies without sacrifice of quality, for moderation if not containment of cost escalations, and for better access to medical care services, especially for those of modest or small means who now have difficulty in obtaining needed care.[106]

Summary

Public provision of health care services is a relatively direct way of redistributing resources and reducing the amount of income necessary for a given level-of-living. Mississippi began participation in Medicaid (which makes medical services available to persons meeting categorical assistance requirements) in 1970. Approximately one-half of the poor elgible for Medicaid in Mississippi are children in AFDC families. Mississippi began participation in Medicare, which is a federal program for payment for transfer of payment of the bulk of the medical costs of the aged onto the public, in 1965. Some 270,000 Mississippians were beneficiaries of Medicare in 1974, and drew benefits in excess of $100 million.

Mississippi continues to have a comparatively high birth rate. Differential living conditions and cultural practices have resulted in higher mortality as well as fertility rates among blacks. However, infant and neonatal mortality rates in Mississippi have registered dramatic declines in recent years. This has been brought about by improved prenatal care and increased proportions of physician attended births.

Diet is a significant factor in the maintenance of good health. Cooperation of agencies having expertise in budget management and food preparation seems necessary in order for the improved purchasing power for food stuffs and windfalls for merchandisers made possible by the utilization of food stamps to be translated into improved nutritional practice and intake of poor families.

CHAPTER APPENDIX TABLE 1

ESTIMATED POPULATION WITH LIMITATION OF ACTIVITY DUE TO CHRONIC CONDITIONS BY DEGREE OF LIMITATION ACCORDING TO SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 - 1971

Geographic area and characteristic	Population in thousands	Not limited in activity	Limited in activity	Limited in amount or kind of major activity	Unable to carry on major activity
MISSISSIPPI					
Total	2,191	86.2	13.9	7.0	4.5
Age					
Under 45 years	[25]1,555	93.6	5.9	2.9	0.9
45 - 64 years	423	75.3	25.6	13.8	8.2
65 years and over	213	53.4	49.0	22.9	23.2
Sex					
Male	1,053	85.7	14.4	5.6	6.7
Female	1,138	86.7	13.3	8.2	2.4
Color					
White	1,367	86.8	13.2	6.8	3.4
All other	823	85.1	15.0	7.1	6.2
Family income					
Less than $5,000	920	83.8	21.5	10.5	8.7
$5,000 or more	1,270	93.3	9.6	5.0	1.9

Source: State Estimates of Disability and Utilization of Medical Services: United States, 1969 -71 (Rockville, Md.: U.S. Dept. of HEW, Public Health Service, Health Resources Administration, National Center for Health Statistics, DHEW Publication No. (HRA) 77-1241 (January, 1977), p. 33.

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CHAPTER APPENDIX TABLE 2

ESTIMATES OF UTILIZATION OF SHORT-STAY HOSPITALS, PHYSICIAN VISITS, AND DENTAL VISITS ACCORDING TO SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 - 1971

Geographic area and characteristic	Short-stay hospitals[a]			Physician visits[b]		Dental visits[c]	
	Discharges per 100 persons per year	Average length of stay	Percent of persons with 1+ hospital episodes in a year	Number of visits per person per year	Percent of persons with visit in a year	Number of visits per person per year	Percent of persons with visit in a year
MISSISSIPPI							
Total	13.6	9.1	10.4	4.3	68.1	0.9	36.1
Age							
Under 17 years	6.9	6.7	5.3	3.3	64.4	0.8	34.7
17 - 44 years	17.0	8.3	13.7	4.4	71.5	1.1	43.8
45 - 64 years	15.8	12.2	11.5	5.0	67.9	1.0	34.1
65 years and over	23.1	14.8	15.9	6.0	70.9	0.6	18.7
Sex							
Male	11.1	10.2	8.3	3.7	64.9	0.9	35.1
Female	15.8	8.0	12.3	4.8	71.1	1.0	37.0
Color							
White	14.2	7.9	11.0	4.6	71.3	1.2	43.2
All other	12.5	11.0	9.3	3.8	62.8	0.5	24.3
Family income							
Less than $5,000	15.7	11.1	11.3	4.4	66.1	0.6	25.7
$5,000 or more	13.0	8.3	10.4	4.5	73.7	1.2	45.3

[a] Hospital which provides general type of service or the hospital department of institutions.

[b] Any consultation with a physician for examination, diagnosis, treatment, or advice.

[c] Presentation at a dentist's office for treatment or advice.

Soucre: Same as Chapter Appendix Table 1, p. 85.

CHAPTER APPENDIX TABLE 3

AGGREGATE AND PER CAPITA NATIONAL HEALTH EXPENDITURES, BY SOURCE OF FUNDS, AND PERCENT OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, SPECIFIED YEARS, 1929 - 1976

Fiscal year	Gross national product (in billions)	Health expenditures								
		Total			Private			Public		
		Amount (in millions)	Per capita	Percent of GNP	Amount (in millions)	Per capita	Percent of total expenditures	Amount (in millions)	Per capita	Percent of total expenditures
1929..........	$101.3	$3,589	$29.16	3.5	$3,112	$25,28	86.7	$477	$3.88	13.3
1935..........	68.9	2,846	22.04	4.1	2,303	17.84	80.9	543	4.21	19.1
1940..........	95.4	3,883	28.98	4.1	3,101	23.14	79.9	782	5.84	20.1
1950..........	264.8	12,027	78.35	4.5	8,962	58.38	74.5	3,065	19.97	25.5
1955..........	381.0	17,330	103.76	4.5	12,909	77.29	74.5	4,421	26.47	25.5
1960..........	498.3	25,856	141.63	5.2	19,461	106.60	75.3	6,395	35.03	24.7
1965..........	658.0	38,892	197.75	5.9	29,357	149.27	75.5	9,535	48.48	24.5
1966..........	722.4	42,109	211.56	5.8	31,279	157.15	74.3	10,830	54.41	25.7
1967..........	773.5	47,879	237.93	6.2	32,026	159.15	66.9	15,853	78.78	33.1
1968..........	830.2	53,765	264.37	6.5	33,725	165.83	62.7	20,040	98.54	37.3
1969..........	904.2	60,617	295.20	6.7	37,680	183.50	62.2	22,937	111.70	37.8
1970..........	960.2	69,201	333.57	7.2	43,810	211.18	63.3	25,391	122.39	36.7
1971..........	1,019.8	77,162	368.25	7.6	48,387	230.92	62.7	28,775	137.32	37.3
1972..........	1,111.8	86,687	409.71	7.8	53,214	251.50	61.4	33,473	158.20	38.6
1973..........	1,238.6	95,383	447.31	7.7	58,715	275.35	61.6	36,668	171.96	38.4
1974 1/.......	1,361.2	106,321	495.01	7.8	64,809	301.74	61.0	41,512	193.27	39.0
1975 1/.......	1,452.3	122,231	564.35	8.4	71,361	329.48	58.4	50,870	234.87	41.6
1976 2/.......	1,611.8	139,312	637.97	8.6	80,492	368.61	57.8	58,820	269.36	42.2

1/ Revised.
2/ Preliminary.

Source: Robert M. Gibson and Marjorie S. Mueller, "National Health Expenditure Highlights, Fiscal Year 1976," Research and Statistics Note, U.S. Dept. of HEW, Social Security Administration, Office of Program Policy and Planning, Office of Research and Statistics, Note No. 27 (December, 1976), p. 2.

1. Barbara Shenfield, Myths of Social Policy, (Rockford, Illinois; Rockford College, 1975), p. 34.

2. Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems. (Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 581

3. Social Security Administration, Research and Statistics Note No. 27 (December, 1976).

4. E.S. Stozanovic, "Participation in Medicare," Mississippi Farm Research 31 (October, 1966), p.4.

5. Martion Rein, "Choice and Change in the American Welfare System," Annals, 1974), 385 (September, 1969), pp. 98-99.

6. Cited in Poverty in Texas 1973, (Austin: Department of Community Affaris, 1974), p. 146.

7. William Richardson, "Poverty, Illness and Use of Health Services," Hospitals, 42 (July, 1969), p. 34.

8. James N. Morgan, et al., Income and Welfare in the United States, (Englewood-Cliffs: McGraw Hill, 1962), p. 253. More recent data from the National Health Survey indicate that the age distributions within the income groupings do explain at least part of the relationship between rates of disability days and family income. Disability Days, United States, 1971, (Rockville, Md: Health Resources Administration, National Center for Health Statistics, June, 1974), pp. 67-7.

9. Morgan, et al, p. 253.

10. Irving Leveson, "The Challenge of Health Services for the Poor," Annals, 399 (January, 1972), pp. 23-29. Robert A. Perkins, et al ,"Multiple - Influence Paradigms in Illness," Social Casework, 56 (November, 1975), pp. 531-537; John Kosa, Poverty and Health, A Sociological Analysis, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 321; David Mechanic, "Human Problems and the Organization of Health Care," Annals, 399 (January, 1972), pp. 8-9.

11. Horton and Leslie, p. 584.

12. Charles Goodrich, et al , Welfare Medical Care (Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1970); Anselm Strauss, "Medical Ghettos," Trans-action (May, 1967). Health services are often held to be characterized by depersonalization, disorganization, and inadequate emphasis on health counseling or preventive care. The patient can easily become lost in the maze, and "the less informed, the less educated, the poorer, the more disadvantaged, the more lost he is." Sylvester Burke and Alan W. Von Heston,

"Introduction," Annals, 399 (January, 1972), p. xi. The following table shows access to medical care by race and economic status for 1964 and 1973.

	1964	1973
Short-stay hospital discharges per 100 population per year		
Total	13.8	
Poor	13.8	19.0
Nonpoor	12.6	12.5
White		
Poor	15.3	20.2
Nonpoor	12.9	12.6
All other		
Poor	9.9	15.3
Nonpoor	9.6	11.6
Per cent of population with no doctor* visits in past two years		
Total		
Poor	27.7	17.2
Nonpoor	17.7	13.4
White		
Poor	25.7	16.8
Nonpoor	17.1	13.2
All other		
Poor	33.2	18.5
Nonpoor	24.7	15.3
Number of doctor* visits per person per year		
Total		
Poor	4.3	5.6
Nonpoor	4.6	4.9
White		
Poor	4.7	5.7
Nonpoor	4.7	5.0
All other		
Poor	3.1	5.0
Nonpoor	3.6	4.3
Number of dental visits per person per year		
Total		
Poor	0.8	1.1
Nonpoor	1.8	1.8
White		
Poor	0.9	1.2
Nonpoor	1.8	1.9
All other		
Poor	0.6	0.7
Nonpoor	1.2	1.1

*physician.

Source: R. Wilson and E. White, "Changes in Morbidity, Disability, and Utilization Differentials Between the Poor and the Nonpoor," Journal of Health Politics Policy, and Law,1 (Summer, 1976), p. 160, as reproduced in Theodore Marmour, "Rethinking National Health Insurance," Public Interest (Winter, 1977), p.77.

13. Late noble laureate in physiology and medicine, Professor H.J. Miller, speculated in 1961 that with birth control available, the people with "the largest retinue of children" might be those who "are most lacking in perspective, are unduly egotistical, or headless of others' needs or shiftless, or bungling..." The most recent National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) data indicate that racial differences in birth control procedures are approaching convergence among married couples. The proportion of wives employing modern contraceptive methods in applicable episodes age 15-44 increased from 60% in 1960 to 70% in 1973. Evidence also suggested a strong trend toward the effective use of contraceptive methods. Even so, white wives (71%) were more likely to use contraception than black wives(60%). Only 61% of the wives of the below poverty line group were making contraceptive efforts at the time of the interview. However, the data indicated that the gap in responsible reproductive behavior was narrowing between the poverty and self-supportive couples. Weyl, on the basis of the above data, has suggested that "the Galtonian specter that advances in contraception and medical care tend to cause a deterioration in the quality of population" may be resolved along with the "Malthusian specter that population growth tends to exceed increases in food supply". Both may eventually be resolved by contraceptive practice and technology "if contemporary American practices are harbingers of future world ones." Nathaniel Weyl, "Class and Race," National Review, 29 (January 21,1977) p. 87. However, Holbeid, noting that the Census Bureau's first report on premarital childbirth revealed that in 1969 52.6% of first-born black children were illegitimate (compared with 10.1% for whites), and that NSFG studies do not include unmarried conceivers, cautions that the NSFG studies "do not necessarily imply an efficient and contraceptive use among the eugenically disinclined strata of the population anymore than an increasing number of drivers indicates an increasing level of automotive safety..." Irwin J. Holbeid, "The Missing Category," National Review, 29 (March 4, 1977), p. 238.

14. Mark G. Arnold and Greg Rosenbaum, The Crime of Poverty, (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Co., 1973), pp. 26-27; Bruce Balfe, "Editorial ," Journal of the American Medical Association, 215 (February 22, 1971), pp. 1318-1320.

15. Arthur Lester and Eleanor Hunt, "Maternal and Child Health Program and Rural Areas," President's Commission on Rural Poverty, Rural Poverty in the United States, (Washington: USPGO, 1968), pp. 337-250.

16. "Infant Mortality Rate Declines," Mississippi's Health, 18 (August, 1975).

17. National Center for Health Statistics, Monthly Vital Statistics, Final Mortality Statistics, 1975 (HRA) 77-1120, vol. 25, No. 11 (February 11, 1977), p. 6.

18. "Granny Midwives: Then and Now," Mississippi's Health, 18 (October-November, 1975), p. 6.

19. Helen Armstrong, Nutritional Status: Its Relation to Overall Family Development, MAFES Information Sheet 1242 (June, 1974).

20. As quoted in "How to Save Babies for Two Dimes A Day," Redbook (April, 1973), according to James W. Robertson, statement on the effects of malnutrition on health in Food Stamp Program - 1976 (Hearings before the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, Serial No. 94-DDD, 1976), p. 1043.

21. Testimony of James W. Robertson, Ibid.

22. Robertson, citation of Journal of the American Dietetic Association, 60 (April, 1972), p. 301, Ibid.

23. Quoted in Mark Arnold and Greg Aosenbaum, The Crime of Poverty, (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Co., 1973), p. 34. Also, see Robert Sherrill, "It Isn't True That Nobody Starves in America New York Times Magazine, (June 4, 1967), and Kenneth Davis, The Paradox of Poverty in America, (H.W.Wilson Co., 1969), pp. 64-73.

24. Jean Snyder, "Home Economics Researchers Seek Answers on Human Diet," Mississippi Farm Research, 35 (September, 1972), p.8.

25. Annual Report, Mississippi State Department of Public Welfare, Fiscal Year, 1974 - 1975, p. 95.

26. American Enterprise Institute, The Bill to Revamp the Welfare System (Washington: AEI, 1970), p. 44.

27. Annual Report of MDPW, 1974 - 75, p. 95.

28. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974

29. Arnold and Rosenbaum, The Crime of Poverty, pp. 125-126.

30. Ben Wattenberg, No Blues for the Southland: An Objective View of the Data on Regional Growth and Prosperity (Brimingham: Promotion Dept., Southern Living, n.d.), p. 24.

31. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, Hunger and the Reform of Welfare - A Question on Nutritional Adequacy (Washington: USPGO, February, 1972), p. 126.

32. "Food Stamps: A Program That Grows and Grows," Reader's Digest, 107 (November, 1975), pp. 88-91.

33. Henry S. Aaron, Why Is Welfare So Hard to Reform? (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1973), p. 18.

34. Browning, Redistribution and the Welfare System, p. 42.

35. Kenneth Clarkston, Food Stamps and Nutrition, (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1975).

36. Daniel P. Moynihan, The Politics of a Guaranteed Income, (New York Random House, 1973), p. 117.

37. Gilbert Steiner, The State of Welfare, (Washington: Brookings Institute, 1971), p. 193.

38. American Enterprise Institute, The Bill to Revamp the Welfare System, (Washington: AEI, 1970), p. 45.

39. Bruno Stein, On Relief: The Economics of Poverty and Public Welfare, (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. 124. Moynihan has suggested an inconsistency between the utilization of food stamps (as opposed to free commodities without the added expense of a commercial middle-man,or choice maximizing cash grants) as the route to adding dignity to the lives of the poor, coupled with the rather demeaning concern of that they might not spend their resources as desired. Op cit., p. 117. Cf.: David Elesh, et al , Income Maintenance: Inter Disciplinary Approaches to Research, (Chicago: Markham, 1971), p. 19.

40. Aaron, Why is Welfare So Hard to Reform?

41. Kenneth W. Clarkeson, Food Stamps and Nutrition, p: 50.

42. The following statements in the 1976 hearing of the House Committee on Agriculture are illustrative:

> Hon. Bill Archer: "As we discover more about the operation of the food stamp program, it becomes obvious that it is not only the poor who are benefitting. Through a...'welfare ethic' encouraging people to take advantage of the program as a right, individuals who are non-needy and may have even substantial resources are benefitting...One case involved a father who complained...that his son was receiving food stamps while attending college--even though the father earned over $100,000 a year. U.S. soldiers have used food stamps in U.S. commissaries. Thousands of well paid workers have gone on strike--and collected food stamps."

Hon. William Ketchum: "When an advertisement appears in a national magazine pushing food stamps by documenting the statement: "Taxpayers Making Up to $16,000 A Year Now Elgible" and recipients are quoted as saying, "To me it is no different from a tax rebate program"--then it's way past time to examine this Federal program that was designed to assist the needy...It is a sorry fact indeed to find that the abuses very nearly outweigh the benefits of the food stamp program."

Hon. Philip M. Crane: "When one looks at the well dressed person driving a shiny new car paying for groceries with food stamps...at the checkout counter....What is required is a massive overhaul of the entire food stamp program with a serious emphasis on tightening... identification and elgibility standards. There is no reason why people making $12,000, $15,000 or even $30,000 a year should be able to get food stamps. There should be minimum age requirements for elgibility and anyone who is voluntarily unemployed, which includes college students and strikers, should be automatically inelgible."

Hon. Dale Milford: "...an unfairness has developed which discriminates against our retired citizens who have planned well, budgeted wisely, but still find it hard to buy food at prevailing prices...an elderly couple receiving social security benefits who have either paid for their home or who are living in a low-to-modest rent apartment may well be either inelgible for food stamps or forced to pay as much as $50 for $80 worth of coupons.

At the same time, a family who just simply has not budgeted their income well, could be living in a $400 a month apartment, driving two cars and drawing food stamps at lower preimiums."

Hon. G. V. Montgomery: "Very little effort is given to restricting those with adequate incomes and assets, since the formula for determining elgibility allows a person to ignore certain kinds of income and to deduct expenses such as child care, union dues, shelter taxes, etc. The formula creates an artifically large number of potentially needy families.

Another source of irritation is that recipients may be voluntarily unemployed--strikers, college students, or simply persons who quit their job. Work registration is very ineffective and there are no requirements for job search.

Average citizens...see food stamp recipients with baskets bulging with expensive items and choice cuts of meat...These persons have a very real reason for objecting to the program as it now stands."

43. Maintenance of program integrity can be underscored at the local level with solemnity beyond serendipitous enforcement. IRS tenacity in the detection of groups fraudulently acquiring and disposing of stamps would seem to be in order at the national level. Units at the federal, State, and inter-county levels (perhaps in the Office of the Attorney General in cooperation with the DPW) with the task of promoting program integrity could reduce public enmity and help insure a channeling of benefits of the program in the direction of "humane and generous assistance to those tho have legitimate need for the food stamp program." Food Stamp Program, p. 10. "...we were informed by the Washington Star that an $18.7 million loss in federal funds by food

stamp vendors may barely scratch the surface, that this type of abuse has been going on for years without any action by program officials to stop it." One quality control estimate suggests that "54 percent of all food cases are in error, and one food stamp bonus dollar in four is misspent either because of administrative inefficiency or cheating." William C. Wampler, Food Stamp Program, p. 9. For description of a successful program of reduction of fraud among college students, see the statement of Robert E. Neilson, Ibid., pp. 1132-1134, Mr. Neilson observes:

> In two years of efforts in this State in the field of non-assistance Food Stamp fraud and abuse, I have reached the conclusion that unmarried college students should not be eligible for food stamps.
>
> The extenison of a non-assistance food stamp program not only promotes deceit but becomes a substantial aid-to-education which, however noble, doesn't belong in this category.
>
> Most college students know well in advance that they are going to attend college. Their personal financial outlay should include the cost of food and this expense should not be borne by the food stamp program.

Ibid., p. 1133. "Only students whose families are unable to assist in their education should be eligible. Meanwhile, let's get back to the work ethic..." Statement of Rep. James Weaver, p. 11.

44. Statement of Hon. James Buckley, Food Stamp Program, p. 21.

45. According to Buckley, application of asset levels needs to be made equivalent to those of other in-kind awards and cash gift programs so that all public assistance programs will operate with consistent standards of eligibility. Imposition of an assets limitations would have to be coupled with a provision to "prohibit the deliberate transfer of assets by persons wishing to make themselves eligible for food stamps. It would thereby correct shocking loopholes in the present program." Ibid.

46. This was the intent of a bill introduced in the House in the ninety-fourth session of Congress. Apparently, a State can also exert this prerogative itself. Ibid. pp. 23-24.

47. The Buckley-Michel bill, considered by the ninety-fourth Congress,made this proposal, which would have increased the receipient's alottment by approximately 29%. Ibid., p. 21.

48. Ibid., pp.

49. Rep. James Abdnor, Food Stamp Program, p. 111.

50. Statement of James Womack on behalf of the Mississippi Department of Public Welfare, Food Stamp Program, p. 378. Among the observations in the written statement on behalf of the MDPW were the following:

> **Work Registration**
>
> The Department is firmly committed to a work requirement for the able-bodied adult, but suggest that the age limitation be from 18 to 60 rather than 18 to 65, so that the requirement will be in conformity with retirement plans. The hours of work should be at least 40 rather than 30, since the 30 hour work week encourages limiting employment to remain eligible for food stamps.
>
> Work registration requirements must be amended. The present procedures are not effective in Mississippi. Some of the following comments from Department employees may be of interest:
>
>> Parents who are physically and mentally capable of performing useful work should be required to register if all of their children are over six years of age. This would make work requirements the same in both the food stamp and AFDC programs.
>>
>> When a person quits or refuses a job without good cause, participation should be terminated whether or not he was referred by Employment Service. At present there is no penalty except the requirement to register for those who obtain jobs on their own and then quit for no good reason.
>>
>> There have been complaints from employers that workers who are food stamp recipients are not working all the hours available to them. Some are quite frank and admit that working more would result in their having to pay more for food stamps. It is felt that we should consider in the computation for food stamps all hours available when recipients continually miss work for no good reason.
>>
>> The penalty for non-compliance is too lenient.
>>
>> Employable persons, for whom no jobs are available, should be provided jobs by an agency set up for this purpose. This could involve public works projects similar to WPA of the past. Present experience has shown that for a work policy to be effective in a rural state where employment opportunities are limited, there must be opportunities for public works projects or public service employment.
>
> Workers presently see work registration as a lot of paper shuffling between agencies with very little, if any, results. This is most frustrating, and, in some instances, results in failure on the part of workers to comply with the requirement.
>
> **Assets**
>
> This Department fully endorses legislation that would make ineligible any household transferring ownership of a resource in order to qualify for food stamps and recommends that legislation specify period of ineligibility and what constitutes transfer for purposes of qualifying.
>
> While there is merit in limits on liquid and non-liquid assets and having common limits for SSI, AFDC and food stamp recipients, we are opposed to these as related to household goods and personal effects unless they are more realistic than in the SSI statute. If correct value were placed on these, it is our belief that many persons on the SSI rolls would be ineligible. Ascertaining market value is not a realistic approach in the administration of a food stamp or income maintenance program. Assessed value is available and would be more feasible to use than market value.
>
> Legislation should address specifically what is meant by non-business property in relation to self support.
>
> **Post Office Issuance**
>
> This Department's position on post office issuance simply stated is that legislation mandate post office issuance since post offices are nearer to the recipient than welfare offices i[illegible]r state, and they are familiar with selling and accounting for stamps, money orders, etc. In addition, post office issuance could help eliminate the deficit of the postal system and eliminate closing of many of the post offices as proposed.

Household Definition

Rather than leaving the definition of a household up to the Secretary's discretion, it is recommended that Congress explicitly define in legislation what constitutes a household and what constitutes separate households. This would be one of the most meaningful reforms that could be enacted.

Outreach

It appears ironic to continue mandating outreach by the administering agency at a time when legislation is proposed to reduce Federal cost of the food stamp program. Needless to say, many Federally funded programs, i.e., Council on Aging, Welfare Departments, Headstart, Cooperative Extension Service, Community Action agencies, health agencies, etc., continuously harass people about available help not only in regard to food stamp program, but other programs as well. Why increase Federal fund expenditures by the administering agency with this function being performed by so many other agencies?

Ineligibility of Strikers

The Department endorses the disqualifying of strikers. Those who go on strike certainly have the right to do so but not at taxpayers' expense. Work registration, which is required for strikers, is a farce because it is highly unlikely that a prospective employer will hire a striker who, in all probability will return to his former job when the strike is settled.

Roomers and Boarders

Legislation should specify treatment of roomers and boarders who reside in a household. It is obvious in far too many instances that the present program regulation is being "used" in order to obtain a reduction in purchase price. For example, often there is an adult son in a household who earns a better than average salary. He signs a statement that he pays $30.00 per month which is the minimum he can pay in order to be classified as a roomer-boarder. When he is temporarily laid off, he again becomes a household member and stamps are issued for him. Later he goes back to work and his parents declare that he has once again become a roomer-boarder who earns as much as

Program Abuses

The Department recommends that the food stamp reform legislation specifically prohibit participation of those who refuse to furnish information, or those who report fraudulent information to obtain food stamps, and believes that this matter should be addressed in legislation rather than regulations prescribed by the Secretary.

Legislation should provide for the minor as a member of a household for the food stamp program in those cases where responsible relatives cannot be located, where responsible relatives are unable to support him, or where no responsible relatives exist. Legislation should also specify the minimum requirements for establishing verification that one of the above conditions exists.

The Department endorses legislation which would disqualify households from participation in the food stamp program when such households transfer assets for the purpose of qualifying or attempting to qualify for the food stamp program. However, we prefer seeing the period of ineligibility written into the bill rather than being left to the discretion of the Secretary.

In addition to the above comments, one of the best ways to eliminate program abuses is to write into legislation specifics and reduce the discretionary power of the Secretary, then expect regulations promulgated by the Secretary to require verification of all factors of eligibility rather than leaving so much up to eligibility worker judgment.

> Claim must be paid in full before recipient is allowed to participate again.
>
> Recipients reported for fraud twice should be barred from the program for a year, and permanently disqualified if caught the third time.
>
> First violations should be repaid in six months, second violations suspended for at least six months and third violations suspended indefinitely.
>
> Provisions should be set forth in statutes, laws, etc., which would require courts to handle fraud cases.
>
> Establish nation-wide system of exchange of information, especially as related to fraud cases.

Food Stamp Program, pp. 352-360.

51. "Food Clubs Blend Cooking, Budgeting," from *Walla Walla Union Bulletin* (January 19, 1977) in *News Clippings* (Washington: Community Services Administration, Office of Public Affairs, February 1-7, 1977), p. 15.

52. Mark G. Arnold and Greg Rosenbaum, *The Crime of Poverty*, (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1973), pp. 25-29.

53. Norman Cantor, "The Law and Poor People's Access to Health Care," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 35 (Autumn, 1970), p. 901.

54. Arthur Shostak, *et al* , *Privilege in America: An End to Inequality* (Prentice Hall, 1973), p. 92.

55. For example, the Veterans Administration provides free medical care as well as pensions and other subsidies for those whose life history qualifies them for these privileges. Although access to the veterans health care system is not based on set income limitations, "many of the patients using hospitals are poor. The system, in fact, saves many individuals from disaster when costly illness strikes." Sar Levitan, *Programs in Aid of the Poor for the 1970s* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 68. The original philosophy of veterans benefits was based on the concept that the government should express its gratitude...and prevent men who were in military service from becoming indigents" because of disability incurred immediately from such human services. However, "veterans benefits" have escalated into a social welfare program which "include several million families, and their significance can be guaged by the fact that almost 22 million men and women now in civil life are veterans and eligible for Veterans Administration benefits." These include a coterie of pensions for the aged, education for service retirees (in addition to retirement benefits in general) and benefits for survivors, medical care for millions, and a variety of financial, medical, rehabilitation, and social services, some rather remotely connected to any sort of service based liability. To have been in service in and of itself is to subject the public to a continuing series of claims, benefits, gifts, awards, emoluments, and special privileges to which the hoipolli are generally not a partner and in terms of which they are disadvantaged. Ronald B. Dear and Donald G. Douglas, *Poverty in Perspective: A Critical Analysis of the Social Welfare Problem* (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1973), pp. 64-67.

56. No provision is made here for a thought out statement regarding the role of so-called family planning clinics which, among other things, seem to function as distributing centers for copulatory artifacts for the unmarried and adolescent population. It is emphasized that no family planning program in Mississippi has been examined in preparing this report. How-

ever, it is suggested that "family planning" to legitimate *families* is a suitable public function, as would be policies to cease subsidation of larger families. Food stamps, public education, and other items which pay a premium in public emoluments for larger family size would not seem to discourage overpopulation among individual families. Perhaps the incentive needs to be biased in favor of reduced population, such as, perhaps, a $50 yearly bonus for all married females age, say, 21-48, who do *not* contribute to population growth. Rothman has pointed out that by the late 1960s and 1970s, the "traditional fear of sexual license that to give the poor contraceptive devices would encourage their promiscuity" was overcome by the view that "it certainly seems better to risk increasing sexual freedom (sic) among the poor by removing the fear (sic) of pregnancy than to deplete our natural resources" and the fact that "few critics any longer equate the moral tone of the nation with the sexual activities of its citizens." While to whatever extent it may be true that the credo of "family planning professionals" "is that in all situations effective contraception is the answer to the plight of the poor and "there is every indication that clinic physicians will increase their reliance upon sterilization," both physicians and workers with a coterie of appertunant titles (members of the social work vocation described by Rothman as "family planning professionals") are to be congratulated for a uniquely effective step toward "saving us from ecological disaster and rescuing the poor from a lifetime of poverty." However, there is evidence from studies of contraceptive practice among the poor that the poor know full well about family limitation techniques, and that their larger family sizes are distinct matters of choice, and not of ignorance of contraceptive devices or lack of access thereto. See Shelia M. Rothman, "Sterilizing the Poor," *Society*, 14 (Jan.-Feb.,1977) pp. 36-40. Brown states that "One rather macabre development in health care is the recurring tendency, in the abortion discussion, to bring up cost-reductions that this procedure achieves by reducing welfare and other costs. The implications of this line of thought are evident. In view of the policies already in effect requiring the government to provide public assistance to the old and the infirm, it is probably only a matter of time until the various proposals for legalization of euthanasia start to be promoted on the grounds that they will save society money. Of course they will. People are expensive." Harold O. J. Brown, *The Reconstruction of the Republic* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1977), p. 131.

57. Medicare and medicaid are recognized as having prompted escalations in charges for hospital services and for services by medical functionaries both professional (physicians) and vocational (nurses) and instituitonal (hospitals). A. Horowitz, "Medical Care Price Changes: Medicare's First Three Years," *Research and Statistics Note*, SSA, ORS, Note No. 14 (August, 1969);

Dorothy P. Rice and A. Horowitz, "Trends in Medical Care Prices," Social Security Bulletin (July, 1967); "Medical Care: Where Costs Have Really Skyrocketed," U.S. News and World Report," (October 25, 1971), pp. 38-39; "Soaring Cost of Health Care," U.S. News and World Report (January 22, 1973), p. 28; Dorothy P. Rice, et al , "Personal Health Care Expenditures of the Aged and Non-Aged, Fiscal Years 1966 and 1967," Research and Statistics Note, SSA, ORS, Note No. 16 (Spetember, 1969). Sparer has suggested that "since medical and health care is increasingly financed from public monies, we might experiment with the creation of a major public sector of health care providers, which is intended to compete with the private sector... and which is intended to assure that every person's human right to good medical care has immediate, legal, and practical recognition." Marmour opines, regarding the need for a combination of catastrophic and child health assistance that deals adequately with the "serious concern about impoverishment, particularly from cancer, stroke, and heart disease," that, coming "at a time when the country is beset by the fear of failure in government...a plan that is manageable but effective would do much for the health of the political order." Edward V. Sparer, "The Legal Right to Health Care: Public Policy and Equal Access," Hastings Center Report, 6 (October, 1976), p. 46.

58. Mississippi Medicaid Commission, Sixth Annual Report, 1976.

59. As Somers has pointed out, it is necessary to analyze the entire spectrum of distributional impact to assess whether the greatest average gains accrue to the consumers or to the providers of medical services. Anne R. Somers, "The Nation's Health: Issues for the Future," Annals 399 (January, 1972), p. 150.

60. Bruce C. Stuart, "Who Gains from Public Health Programs," Annals 399 (January, 1972), pp. 145ff.

61. Unsigned, "Medicaid: The Pathwork Crazy Quilt," Columbia Journal of Law and Social Problems, (April, 1969), p. 70. A related issue regarding Mississippi's ability to provide the funds necessary to extend Mississippi coverage to more adequately meet the health needs of the medically indigent is seen in the fact that Mississippi already taxes its citizens the same dollar amount for every thousand dollars of personal income ($170) as New York ($170.30), which has the highest per capita income of any State. The pressure for the "far heavier internal tax burden on Mississippians than New Yorkers, given the huge difference in income" probably reflects an intensity and direction of state taxation policy at least partially attributable to the proximate pressure to provide the funds required to obtain federal outlays through contributory grants-in-aid such as the medicaid program. William F. Buckely, Jr., Four Reforms - A Guide for the Services, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1973), pp. 43-45. Cf.: Bruce C. Stuart and Lee A. Blair,

Health Care and Income: The Distributional Impact of Medicaid and Medicare Nationally and in the State of Michigan, (Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan, Department of Social Services, 1971).

62. "Medicaid: The Patchwork Craze Quilt."

63. Shenfield, *Myths of Social Policy*, p. 43. Cf.: Howard A. and
Marian L. Palley, "The Determination of Pricing Policy in the
64. Health Care Delivery System," *American Behavioral Scientist*
19 (October, 1975), pp. 104-121; See volume 339 (January, 1972)
of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social*
Science for specific discussion of these issues.

64. Gerald Piel, in George Rohrlich (ed.) *Social Economics for the 1970s* (New York: Donellen Comapny, 1970), p. 45.

65. Charles Schultz, et al., *Setting National Priorities*, (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1972), p. 222.

66. Daniel P. Moynihan, *The Politics of a Guaranteed Income*, (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 492.

67. Henry Aaron, *Why is Welfare So Hard to Reform?* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1973), p. 14.

68. Although frequently described as an "insurance" program, the payroll taxes which finance the program are expended for current benefits. They are not placed in any fund and invested to provide the capital from which payments are made as the contributors need to utilize their "insurance". The analogy private insurance has caused many participants in government "insurance" programs to mistakenly believe the programs are financed through an investment of their contributions and returns are provided by earnings on the investments. Description of social security as "insurance" has probably confused the nature of the financing system in the public mind. Howard Newman, "Medicare and Medicaid," *Annals*, 339 (January, 1972, p. 117; Robinson Hollister, "Social Mythology and Reform: Income Maintenance for the Aged," *Annals* 415 (September, 1974), pp. 19-40. Also see, "Will Social Security Be There When You Need It," *Changing Times* (February, 1977), pp. 24-28.

69. Information obtained from interview with Mr. John Pate, Social Security Administration, Jackson, Mississippi (December 3, 1975).

70. Mississippi State Board of Health, *Report on Mississippi Institutions for the Aged or Infirm, 1973*. Cf.: Mary Mendelson and David Hapgood, "The Political Economy of Nursing Homes," *Annals*

415 (September, 1974), pp. 95-105.

71. Report on Mississippi Institutions for the Aged or Infirm.

72. According to Illich, the medical establishment causes more disease than it cures. He feels that our primary health problem is iatrogenesis, i.e., the illness inducing effects of medical practice in clinical, cultural, and social realms. Among Illich's suggestions are those inclusive of deprofessionalization of health care and the development of lay uses of knowledge heretofore restricted to professionals as steps in the direction of removing iatrogenic sources. Ivan Illich, Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health (New York: Random House, 1976).

73. Roul Touley, The American Health Scandal (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

74. Gangbang visits and refusal of personal physicians to continue to see patients who have been dumped into nursing homes are among the problems encountered in obtaining health care for the institutionalized age. In a survey of 860 physicians for the AMA by Impact, simplified Medicare/Medicaid fees were the most frequently endorsed responses to a question on "what would it take for you to get more involved in the nursing home picture."

> Some respondents honestly owned up to their dislike of geriatric medicine, saying "it is too depressing," patients are "difficult," and that " there is little that medicine and doctors (physicians) can do for these patients." Physicians regularly involved with nursing home patients think they know why some doctors (physicians) feel this way.
>
> "There are frequently frustrating and unpleasant duties associated with geriatrics," commended one MD.
>
> "No dramatic cures are possible," said another.
>
> "It's not challenging," points out a third.
>
> "It's plain gerontophobia" emphasizes a fourth. Others give additional reasons why this condition apparently has affected many MDs. "Because the patient isn't going to become well again, the physician feels he has failed and so he abandons the patient," theorizes one respondent. "Doctors (physicians) have inadequate knowledge of chronic illness," they have had "inadequate exposure

to geriatrics," or they themselves are "unable to face up to the problems of death and dying," say others.

One doctor (physician) says there's an attitude on the part of the public and of his peers that "only fools and knaves go into geriatrics." He and others in the Impact poll say the nursing home physician needs an improved image (sic).

Carol B. Golin, "The Trouble With Nursing Homes," American Medical News (September 27, 1976), "Impact" section, p.5.

75. Carl Eisdorfer, "Observations on Medical Care of the Aged," in R. Boyd and C. Oakes (eds.), Foundations of Practical Gerontology (Columbia: University of SC Press, 1969), p. 79.

76. E.W. Busse, "Geriatrics: Some Complex Problems," American Journal of Psychiatry, 127 (1971), p. 118.

77. Eisdorfer, p. 78.

78. Ibid.

79. Rosalyn Benitez, "How to Make Connections With and How to Use Community Services in Aging," Albert G. Feldman (ed.) Delivery and Administration of Services for the Elderly (Sacramento: California Commission on Aging, 1969), pp. 52-64.

80. Ibid.

81. Ethel Shanas,"The Aged Report on Their Health Problems," Psychiatric Research Report 23, American Psychiatric Association February, 1968; Paul Cameron, "Pre-Medicare Beliefs About the Generations Regarding Medicine and Health," Journal of Gerontology, 27 (1972), pp. 536-539; E. Grant Youmans, "Pessimism Aming Older Rural and Urban Persons," Journal of Health and Human Behavior, 2 (1961), pp. 132-137; "Health Orientations of Older Rural and Urban Men," Geriatrics, 22 (1967), pp. 139-147; George Maddox, "Self-Assesment of Health Status: A Longitudinal Study of Selected Elderly Subjects," Journal of Chronic Disease, 17 (1964), pp. 449-460.

82. Charles G. Oakes, "Sociomedical Problems Among the Elderly," Foundations of Practical Gerontology, pp. 81-96.

83. Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor, p. 65.

84. Shortly after getting underway, evidence became abundant of increased charges for fees and expense padding by physicians. Fears were expressed that the benefits set up in the program would be

rapidly outdated by inflation. New York Times headline articles stated: "Doctor's (Physician's) Fees Up As Much AS 300% Under Medicare" (8/9/66) and "Upstate Areas Fear Bankruptcy From Rising Costs of Medicaid" (9/1/67), reflecting the tenor of these developments. Marmour reports that whereas prior to Medicare it was common practice among physicians to reduce or do away with fees for low-income patients, with Medicare, many poor aged people could now afford to pay, and to pay at higher levels. As one physician in a low-income area wrote in Medical Economics, now that he was collecting from the poor, his net yearly income had increased 45 percent. And as one physician told the Wall Street Journal, "Before Medicare I was charging low-income patients only $4 for house calls because I knew they had limited means. But under Medicare I don't dare give them that lower price or the Medicare people will start reimbursing me at $4 for all claims on the grounds that this is my customary fee. So I have to charge them $6 now." Dorothy Rice and Barbara S. Cooper, "outlays for Medicare and Non-Aged Persons, Fiscal Years 1966-68," Research and Statistics Note, HEW, SSA, ORS, Note No. 12 (July 16, 1969); "Public Courts Disaster as Medical Costs Continue to Rise," Aging in Michigan (March-April, 1971), p. 2; Thomas Marmour, "Why Medicare Helped Raise Doctors' (Physicians') Fees," Transaction (September, 1968), pp. 14-19.

85. See Isadore Falk, "Beyond Medicare," American Journal of Public Health, 59 (April, 1969), pp. 608-619. Rosemary and Robert Stevens, "Medicaid: Anatomy of a Dilemma," Law and Contemporary Problems, 35 (Spring, 1970), pp. 348-425; Rosemary Stevens, American Medicare and the Public Interest (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, Press, 1971).

86. Stuart, "Who Gains from Public Health Programs," op. cit.

87. Horton and Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems, p. 619.

88. Irwin Wolkstein, "Medicare: 1971 Changes in Attitudes and Changes in Legislation," Law and Contemporary Problems, 35 (Autumn, 1970); T.R. Marmour, The Politics of Medicare, (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1973): Mary W. Herman, "The Poor: Their Medical Needs and Health Services Available to Them," Annals, 339 (January, 1972), pp. 12-21. Howard Newman, "Medicare and Medicaid," Annals, 339 (January, 1972), pp. 115-123.

89. Barbara Shenfield, The Myths of Social Policy, p. 33.

90. Senator Gaylord Nelson, news release date May 12 and May 21, 1967.

91. Clarie Townsend, Old Age, The Last Segregation (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), pp. 110-122. Cf.: William Michelfelder, It's Cheaper to Die (Derby, Conn: Monarch Books, 1961), pp. 26-50.

92. Paul Horton and G.R. Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970), p. 538. Edwards, by contrast, contends that there is no medical scare "crisis" in America, and the argument that health care in America is not excellent and improving, except for the impositions of government intervention, is a hoax. Marvin H. Edwards, Hazardous to Your Health (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1973), p. 247. Cf.: Anonymous, "Doctor's (Physician's) Diagnosis of Medicare," New York Times Magazine (August 13,1967), pp. 14-55; "Looking Ahead in Medicare and Business," Vital Speeches (May 15, 1967), pp. 465-468.

93. David Makofsky, "Malpractice and Medicine," Society, 14 (January-February, 1977), p. 26. Makofsky contends that part of the current medical malady results from the successful efforts of physicians to maintain personal income which averages 3.5 times the average professional income and five times the average male income. Makofsky maintains this has been achieved by limiting the number of physicians below public need (with the result of fewer physicians per population than Russia, Bulgaria, or Argentina, crowded waiting rooms, demise of the home visit and leaving "a sizeable proportion of families with no medical attention, even for the care of children") and by concentration in high paying specialties. Makofsky contends that schemes of kickbacks, unnecessary operations (particularly tonsillectomies and hysterectomies) and padding of Blue Cross and Blue Shield are evolved practices which were magnified enormously under Medicare. Furthermore,medical practicioners have developed and exploited avenues for profiting from "not-for-profit" corporations. Legal laxities and the "ethical laxity and weakening of core values" as part of the seeming general tenor of society have increased the avenues for, in Mary Mendelson's term (Tender Loving Greed, 1974), "calculating new ways to beat the government" as the large infusion of government funds has rivaled and surpassed charitable contributions as the major source of support for "not-for-profit" corporations. Etzioni and Doty list four ways of profit making abuse in so-called "not-for-profit" medical entities: Tying staff income to entrepreneurship rather than work (such as renumeration of pathologists, radiologists and other medical specialists as percentage of a department's gross inocme rather than a salary); Self-dealing (business transactions in which the same persons or their kin appear on both sides of a transaction, such as a staff member or a trustee of a not-for-profit corporation appearing on one side of the transaction in connection with the not-for-profit entity, and on the other side as a profit-making provider of goods or services to the not-for-profit corporation, i.e., physicians, administrators, or trustees of not-for-profit facilities who set up provider services such as food, bookkeeping, laboratory, linen, laundry or rehabilitation services which are marketed to a not-for-profit hospital);

Real estate transactions (sale or lease of land or facilities to a not-for-profit corporation by an officer or staff member offers profit making opportunities,particularly in the largesse of government of nursing homes. In one case cited by Etzioni and Doty "24 percent of the not-for-profit home's expenditures went into the pockets of its owner-operator-trustees"); Unreasonable and uncustomary fees, salaries and fringe benefits. Medicaid and Medicare have expanded the range of opportunity for abuses by not-for-profit entities. Amitai Etzioni and Pamela Doty, "Profit in Not-For-Profit Corporations: The Example of Health Care," Political Science Quarterly, 91 (1976), pp. 433-453.

94. Edward Kennedy, "Everyone Has a Share in the Crisis," Viewpoint, 3 (Third Quarter, 1973), pp. 2-5, Cf.: Fred S. Cook, The Plot Against the Patient (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentce-Hall, 1967), pp. 144-196. Friedson, who feels that the prognosis for imposed bureaucratic regulation like PSPO is not optimistic, has enumerated some of the difficulties in obtaining user control of expert practices. Eliot Friedson, Doctoring Together (New York: Elsevier, 1975). Imershein has suggested that both historical and structural variables have factored into the twin problems of "consumer dependence" and "provider arrogance" reportedly characteristic of contemporary medical care. Allen W. Imershein in Social Forces, 55 (March, 1977), p. 832.

95. Edwards contends that rather than a health care crises Americans are enjoying a health care boom. National health insurance, according to Edwards, is a totalitarian concept that holds ominous dangers for society. "The evidence is clear," he opines, "that national health programs are costly and inefficient, and result in greatly reduced standards of medical care. In short, Edwards opines, "government medicine does not work." Edwards, Hazardous to Your Health, p. 251.

96. Berk and Heston, p. xiii.

97. Committee for Economic Development, Building a National Health Care System, (New York: CED, 1973), p. 18, Berk and Heston, p. xii.

98. Herman, "The Poor: Their Medical Needs and Health Services," p. 20.

99. CED, p. 17; William Kissick and S.P. Martin, "Issues of the Future in Health," Annals 339 (January, 1972), p. 151.

100. Brown, The Reconstruction of the Republic, p. 131.

101. Krizay and Wilson The Patients as Consumer.

102. Somers, "The Nation's Health Issues for the Future," p. 161. Health is only in minor degree the product of medical care, no matter how sophisticated; it is much more the product of environmental, genetic, and cultural factors...preventive medicine simply does not provide the means for maintaining health that seem to be implied in the name "health maintenance organizations"--a sobriquet that has stuck all too firmly in a society that already calls sickness insurance "health insurance" (with some providers describing themselves as "assurance" companies) and death insurance "life insurance." The real argument for HMO's has always rested not so much on the idea of "health maintenance" as on the idea of organization. Paul Starr, "The Undelivered Health System," Public Interest, 42 (Winter, 1976), p. 72.

103. Shenfield, p. 38. For discussion of health care in a socialized economy and some attendant problems, see B.B. Page "Socialism, Health Care, and Medical Ethics," Hastings Center Report, 6 (October, 1976), pp. 20-23.

104. CED, p. 19

105. Clark Havighurst, "Foreword," Law and Contemporary Problems, 35, Cf.: Cotton M. Lindsay, Veterans Administration Hospitals: An Economic Analysis of Government Enterprise, (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1975).

106. I. S. Falk, "National Health Insurance: A Review of Policies and Proposals," Law and Contemporary Problems, 35 (Autumn, 1970), p. 677. Mechanic, attempting "to understand better how we can make the most effective use of resources that are likely to be available" rather than "to provide a utopian model that has no reasonable relationship to the world," opines that the growing bureaucratization of medical care, especially primary care, is inefficient, unresponsive and insensitive to the needs of its users. David Mechanic, The Growth of Bureaucratic Medicine: An Inquiry into the Dynamics of Patient Behavior and the Organization of Medical Care (New York: Wiley, 1976). Perhaps a good example of bureaucratic arrogance of the medical enterprise andgovernment in consortium is seen in the hysterical opposition to laetrile legalization. As Rep. Steve Symms has pointed out, the issue is freedom of choice regarding consumption of a natural food which some may desire to take and which, for whatever reason, would not seem to be the business of any entity to forceably prevent. Lynch has suggested that the laetrile issue is developing "into a test of states' rights (i.e., individual liberty and local autonomy) v. government by regulatory agencies." Kevin Lynch, in National Review Bulletin, 29 (June 3, 1977), p. B74. For discussion of contemporary issues in health care in the United States, see the symposium "Health Care in America: An Overview," Current History (May/June, 1977).

CHAPTER 14

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL POVERTY

The adage of man's home is his castle which even the King of England dare not trespass reflects the development of the sacredness of "one's own" household which has deep roots in the organic evolution of Anglo-Saxon legal principles. Part of the glory of America has been the comparative access to the land which it afforded, allowing countless numbers to shred to the debris of ages which would have held them in bondage in Europe and combine laborer and householder in the yeoman owner in the United States.[1]

Land is a basic economic heritage of a people. Land has traditionally been of unusual importance in Mississippi since man-land relations have been a direct source of income in the production of agricultural crops and timber, and has been a basic ingredient in social organization (man-man relations).[2] Although Mississippi is no longer basically an agricultural State,[3] ownership of land does and will continue to be a significant social, politicial, and cultural, yardstick.[4]

Importance of Land Tenure

Land tenure, or the conditions under which landed property is held, occupied, and used, is a fundamental factor in the way economic resources are allocated in a community. It is probably a major determing criteria of who is or who is not going to be poor or who is likely to remain poor. In addition, land ownership is thought to carry with it social stability, individual and familial autonomy, community identification, and other recognized accouterments of good citizenship and desirable levels-of-living.

Despite the large number of Americans who possess title to homes (generally mortgaged), it is estimated that some two-thirds of the private property in the United States is owned by five percent of the population.[5] Most of the geographic area of the United States remains rural despite the rapid urbanization of the population. Some 90% of the American population lives on circa 10% of the land area. And, with three of four Americans jammed into cities and subjected to increasing food prices and interdependence, landholding patterns assume even greater importance.

Numerous observers have felt that widely diffused and responsible ownership of productive property is a basic ingredient in social order and economic justice. Thomas Jefferson, believing that "the small land holders are the most precious part of a state," advocated public policies "to provide by every possible means that as few as possible be without a little portion of land."[6] Rural landholding patterns are important not only because there is good reason for regarding farm land as the most basic and desirable form of productive property,[7] but because landholding patterns greatly influence individual and group welfare in both rural and urban communitites.

Rural Poverty

In order to alleviate poverty it is necessary to determine and rectify factors that cause poverty. Some causes are "natural" in the sense of differences in luck, health, chance, age, accident, skill, size, mental endowment, aptitude, and the opportunity to use those faculties of which one is possessed in ways that bring appreciation and renumeration to him. Other causes are "political" in the sense that poverty is the product of social institutions and the system of privileges associated with social institutions. The massive transformation of Southern agriculture in the last four decades, which has witnessed the apportioning of income from plant and animal husbandry in larger segments among fewer persons, lies in the realm of political rather than merely in market considerations. An understanding of rural poverty today requires a recognition of the affect of national farm policy as it effects the causes and consequences of poverty.[8]

Rural social problems, marginal agricultural operations, and low-income rural families have been the focus of intensive research for several decades.[9] In spite of the massive transfers to agriculturally based enterprises and populations,[10] rural areas have been said to represent serious development needs.[11] Rural per capita income is said to be lower and less equitably distributed than urban income, and the number of rural poor (by American standards) in the United States is said to be "larger than the total population of most of the underdeveloped countries of the world."[12]

This chapter will look specifically at farm changes in Mississippi, contemporary agricultural policy, and some ameliorative suggestions addressed specifically to the issue of rural poverty.

FARM CHANGES IN MISSISSIPPI

The agricultural revolution has brought a dramatic decline in the farm population. This is partially due to expanding opportunities in industry and the escalation in educational opportunity after World War II, partially due to the increased intensity of mechanization (which has both released and/or driven off farm labor as well as placed the less capitalized farmer at an economic and political disadvantage), and partially due to the political structuring of farm policy which has favored the development of large-scale enterprises.[13]

Farm Numbers and Size

It is clear that Mississippi has rapidly moved in the direction of "mechanized, large-scale farming industries and away from the pattern of small, economically marginal, family operated units which once dominated rural life styles in Mississippi." The number of farms in Mississippi decreased from an historical high of 313,000 in 1930 to less than half of this number (138,000) in 1959 (Table 1). Between 1950 and 1964 the number of farms/farmers decreased by 57% (from 251,383 to 109,141) with 30,000 of this decrease occuring during 1959-1964.[14]

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF FARMS, PERCENT CHANGE, AND AVERAGE
SIZE AND PERCENT CHANGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1930-1974

YEAR	NUMBER	% CHANGE	ACRES	% CHANGE
1930	313,663	---	55	---
1935	311,683	---	63	+13.9
1940	291,092	-6.6	66	+ 4.3
1945	263,528	-9.5	74	+13.1
1950	251,383	-46.0	82	+10.8
1954	215,915	-14.1	96	+16.4
1959	138,142	-36.0	135	+40.7
1964	109,141	-21.0	163	+20.5
1969	72,577	-33.5	221	+35.6
1974	57,375	-21.0	251	+14.0

Source: U.S. Census of Agriculture.

Note: The difference between the 72,577 farms in Mississippi according to the Census of Agriculture in 1969 and the Census of Population in 1970 which indicated 52,210 farm families plus circa 8,500 other households reflects 1) continued loss of farm population, and 2) differences in measurement units in that a farm does not necessarily contain a household. Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Nonfarming Population: A Comparison of characteristics and Trends 1950-1970 (Mississippi State University: MAFES Bulletin 809, 1974).

Although the State's farm population has been drastically reduced in size since 1950, the amount of land used in agriculture has remained relatively constant. Average farm size in Mississippi regressed from 55 acres per farm in 1930 to 81 acres in 1960, and 221 acres in 1969, to 251 acres in 1974. The number of farms with sales in excess of $40,000 increased by 54.8% during 1969-1974. The average value of land and buildings of Mississippi's farms escalated by $45,196 during

1969-1974, an increase of 87.8%. The average value per acre rose by 65% during this interval. While all farms decreased by 21%, super enterprises of 2,000 acres and over increased.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE CHANGES, SPECIFIED FEATURES OF MISSISSIPPI AGRICULTURE, 1969-1974

ASPECT	% CHANGE	
	DECREASE	INCREASE
Number of Farms	21%	
Number with Sales over $2,500	5%	
Number 2,000 acres or larger		3%
Total acres in Farms	10%	
Value of Products Sold		76%
Value Sold Per Farm		123%
Average Value Per Acre		65%
Average Value of Land and Buildings		88%

Source: 1974 Census of Agriculture, Preliminary Report, Mississippi AG74-P-28-000 (November, 1976).

The overall picture may be described as one of "rapid change in Mississippi from a labor-intensive small farm system with high proportions of tenancy to mechanized famring with predominantly ownership tenure... In the space of two decades, the state's agriculture has changed from an essentially self-sufficient family farm type of production to one which is essentially of an industrial-commercial nature, efficiently maintained by a much smaller expenditure of manpower."[15] These changes have been described as "probably an inevitable outcome of the modernizing trend in agriculture."[16]

Kelly,[17] in a study of small farm land tenure in the Yazoo Basin, pointed out that farm size has managed to somewhat hold its own in the hill county:

> The largest increase in farm size occured in the Yazoo Basin and along the Mississippi River south of there, while the hill country and northen part of the Black Belt experienced the smallest average increases. In the hill areas many small farmers are holding their land and living on it while working elsewhere. This is not so common in areas of large increases in farm size (where Negroes are a majority). Fewer Negroes own land, and besides it probably is not as enjoyable or economical simply to live in the hill

country. Although there were area-to-area differences in average increase, farms expanded in all parts of the State.

The Delta is regarded as "wealthy" in contrast to the northeast hill country, a differential that is popularly recognized in observation, legend, and romance.[18] However, it has been in this "rich farm land of the Delta...ranking among the top counties in the nation in cotton production,"[19] a "flat shelf of fertile alluvial soil about two counties wide along the Mississippi River, from Memphis to the Yazoo River at Vicksburg-- the domain of the Delta planters, masters of huge plantations..one of the greatest cotton producing regions of the world...," a "wonderful area, blessed with fertile soil, favorable climate, and a fabulous water resource, and populated by intelligent, energetic people...destined to be a major producer of food,"[20] that the debilitating circumstances associated with poverty have been most pronounced.[21] Boyd and Morgan,[22] in a review of findings from the cooperative study conducted by Agricultural Experiment Stations in nine Southern States 1958-1965 on "Factors in the Adjustment of Families and Individuals in Low-Income Areas of the South" describe the Mississippi Delta[23] as "characterized by a low-level-of-living, low total family income, low participation, low joint decision making, small portions of farm and home owners, and a large portion of nonwhites. It is relatively a very depressed area." The tenure situation in the Delta, which involves a "relatively low average rate of ownership..."[24] has not received the attention it prima facie merits as a variable in the etiology of area poverty.

Decline in Tenancy

Perhaps the most optimistic aspect of agricultural change in Mississippi has been the decline in tenancy. The proportion of full owners among Mississippi farmers in 1969 (72.3%) was nearly twice that of 1950 (41%). The proportion of tenants was reduced from 52% in 1950 to less than 7% in 1974. A decline of 14.5 percentage points (from 23.5% to 9.0%) occured in the period 1964-1969.

To the extent this change represents either 1) increase in ownership, or 2) alteration of occupation and attendant life-styles which represent an improved level-of-living, the decline in tenancy may be regarded as one of the great improvements in Mississippi's agricultural picture over the past generation. However, the number of full owners and part owners of farms also decreased.

TABLE 3

FARM TENANCY, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1974

TENURE CATEGORY	1950	1959	1964	1969	1974
Full Owners					
Percent of Total	41.0	54.0	59.2	72.3	73.7

Percent White	77.4	76.4	77.6	76.7	NA
Percent Nonwhite	22.6	23.6	22.4	23.3	NA
Tenants					
Percent of Total	51.6	32.3	23.5	9.0	6.9
Percent of White	59.6	27.5	27.8	27.5	NA
Percent of Nonwhite	40.4	72.5	72.2	72.5	NA

Source: Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi Farming and Nonfarming Population: A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950-1970, p. 7. W.A. Stacey, et al, Mississippi's Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects (State College: Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 18, 1966) pp. 3-4; 1974 Census of Agriculture, Mississippi, Preliminary Report (November, 1976).

In 1930 over 70% of the farm operators in Mississippi were tenants, and nearly two-thirds of all operators were tenants in 1940. Farm tenancy was recognized as a major social problem during the 1930s when the Great Depression dramatized chronic concentrations of poverty in rural areas.[25] The sharecropping tenancy system[26] was born of the old plantation system. It produced many families of wealth contrasted to numerous families whose plight has been described as one of family heads "trying by some means to hold onto a spinning world until by some means enabled to get a grip on a better way of life. He knows he cannot buy land of his own from the profits of the sharecropping. He knows just as well that he cannot save until he earns, and that he cannot earn much more than a bare living..."

In contrast to the agricultural censuses from 1930 through 1954, the 1959 census showed that ownership (which accounted for 54% of all farm operators) had become the dominant form of farm tenure in Mississippi. In 1964, 59% of all farm operators were full owners, and 72% in 1969. However, the actual number of full owners decreased from over 100,000 in 1950 to about 65,000 in 1964, about 52,500 in 1969, and about 42,000 in 1974. Consequently, the optimistic picture reflected in the decline in tenancy is somewhat offset by the real decline in the number of full owner farms. This would indicate the decline in tenancy has not been accomplished by increased flexibility or possibility of access in the tenure ladder, thus possibly perhaps offsetting the apparently optimistic picture reflected by the decline in the proportion of tenant operated farms.

Farm Mechanization

Mississippi turned the decade into the thirties with an agriculturally dominated mule powered economy. Ten years later less than 3% of the farms in Mississippi had tractors,[27] and well under 20% of the farming operations of breaking, discing, and harrowing were performed by tractor power.[28]

Between 1940 and 1969 the percent of farms equipped with trucks and tractors increased from 6% and 2.7% respectively to almost 70%. The State's 1969 farm group had a larger percentage of food freezer ownership and about the same percentage of television ownership as the urban population. Wholesale improvement in farm levels-of-living has been one of the most notable and far reaching changes over the past several decades. This has helped to improve the overall quality of life in Mississippi.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF FARMS AND/OR FARM HOUSEHOLDS POSSESSING SPECIFIED EQUIPMENT AND APPLIANCES, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1974

YEAR	TV	PHONE	HOME FREEZER	AUTOS	TRUCKS	TRACTORS
1950	NA	6.5	4.5	26.8	20.0	12.9
1954	13.7	26.7	16.8	39.1	32.0	24.4
1959	NA	26.7	42.6	52.8	44.5	37.2
1964	79.1	40.2	66.4	65.1	55.5	47.5
1969	NA	90.6	71.5	60.4	69.3	69.4
1974	NA	NA	NA	NA	77.3	76.6

Note: It is impossible to determine whether there was a 100% overlap in farms/farm households possessing either an auto or a truck. However, over one-fourth of the farmers in Mississippi in 1969 had more than one auto, a proportion close to the urban rate (34%) and exceeding the rural nonfarm rate. The urban population is greatly disadvantaged in terms of food freezer ownership (34%). Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Nonfarming Population: A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950-1970. (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin No. 809, 1974). The actual number of trucks and tractors on Mississippi farms exceeded the actual number of farms by 5,345 and 19,350 respectively. Mississippi farms with trucks average 1.4 trucks per farm, and Mississippi farms with tractors average 1.7 tractors per farm.

Source: Bryant op. cit., and 1974 Census of Agriculture, Preliminary Report, Mississippi.

Black Farm Population

As of 1910 blacks in the South had managed to become full or part owners of 15 million acres. By 1950, black land ownership had declined to 12 million acres, and by 1969 was down to 5.5 million acres, a drop of 54% in two decades.[29]

Mississippi had more total black farm landowners than any Southern State in 1969.[30] In fact, black land owners in Mississippi accounted for about one-quarter of the black farm landowners in the South. Furthermore, nearly one-fourth of all farm landowners in Mississippi are black (compared to only 6.3% for the entire South). The total average of farms of black owners as a percentage of total acreage of farms of all farm owners is greatest in Mississippi. Mississippi had more acres in farms by black owners than any other State as well as the highest total value of farm land owned by blacks. The decline in the black farm landowners in Mississippi during 1954-1969(47.6%)was lower than any Southern State except Kentucky, and compares to a regional decrease of 61.9%. Although average size per farm of black landowners increased by 13.6% during 1954-1969, this increase was less than the regional rate (+30.1%). The apparent indication is one of a long-term opportunity for land possession and occupancy of land by blacks in Mississippi unequaled elsewhere.[31]

TABLE 5

BLACK FARM LAND OWNERSHIP IN MISSISSIPPI COMPARED WITH THE SOUTH, SPECIFIED CHARACTERISTICS

	MISSISSIPPI	SOUTH
Black Full Owners as % of all Full Owners	23.3	6.3
Total Acreage of Black Full Owners as % of All Full Owners	11.5	2.6
Decline in Black Farm Owners 1954-1969	47.6	61.9
Decline in Black Farm Owners 1964-1969	24.0	32.4
Avera acres Per Farm of Black Owners as % of All Owners	49.2	40.6

Source: Lester M. Salmon, Land and Minority Enterprise (Washington: Office of Minority Business Enterprise, 1976), pp. 5-14.

Browne argues that there is a need for "an institution, or series of institutions which would have as an objective the creating of economically viable family units whose labor power, however unskilled, would be building equity for them." Browne notes that in addition to transferring land, there should be assistance in the maintenance of economically viable units. These could take the form of truck farming; cooperative cultivation in the sense that the needs for expensive equipment is held in cooperative ownership; or perhaps the development of processing facilities. The important element is to provide access to opportunity and to maximize and maintain lines of access to property and economic self-sufficiency.[32]

TABLE 6

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MISSISSIPPI FARM POPULATION,
BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1940-1970

	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
Total Number			
1940	1,403,884	629,766	774,118
1960	540,304	243,659	296,645
1970	261,492	151,521	109,504
Percent of Total			
1940	100.0	44.9	55.1
1960	100.0	45.1	54.9
1970	100.0	58.1	41.9
Numerical Change			
1940-1960	-863,580	-386,107	-477,473
1960-1970	-278,812	-92,138	-187,141
Percent Change			
1940-1960	-61.5	-61.3	-61.7
1960-1970	-51.0	-37.0	-63.0

Source: Mark Lowry, "Population and Economy Part I: Agriculture," Mississippi Geographer, II (Spring, 1974), p. 34.

Between 1960 and 1970 the black farm population in Mississippi decreased by 63%, compared to a decrease of 37% in the white farm population during this time (Table 6). Most of this decline was brought about by the movement of blacks out of agricultural tenancy. The percentage of black full owners among all full owners of farms in Mississippi remained relatively constant at circa 23% between 1950 and 1969. The actual number of black owners, however, decreased from over 23,000 to about 12,500 during this period.

The attitude of change agents has frequently been to conceive of an abundance of "many small farms with limited sales of agricultural products,"[33] rather than in terms of access to land. Similarly, there seems to have been a tendency to blandly disregard displacement of the many in the interest of "efficiency and higher farm income,"[34] and to regard as ameliorative changes which have in balance resulted in critical social consequences.[35] Ford has evaluated the effects of this change as "particularly severe for back tenants (for whom) there were few opportunities for ownership. Between 1935 and 1964 full ownership by blacks declined from 150,000 to 70,800 in the South."[36] Furthermore, "because of their limited incomes, education, farm sizes, and access to credit, the Negro farmer's inability to adjust to technological and market changes... is evident from...the average size of farms operated by Negroes... less livestock, yields, and machinery...and dependence upon cotton and tobacco, which are hardest hit by...federal agricultural policies."[37] Christian and Pepelasis claim that longrun pressures of possible economies of scale have more adversely affected black farmers since the latter allegedly are at a greater disadvantage in attempting to shift to the capital-intensive methods in relation to assets, access to credit, and poor educational background.[38]

CONTEMPORARY AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Part of the "New Deal" agricultural policy was to maintain farm income by creating a tie to the public purse through subsidation[39] on the one hand and a limitation of output on the other.[40] Farm income was to be raised by resulting higher prices supplemented by direct cash gifts from the public treasury.[41] In terms of a social accounting ,whether the program raised average[42] income is far less important than its distributional impact and its externalities[43] or serendipitous effects.

In the 1940s government programs[44] "chose not to undertake financial assistance to low income rural families while spending billions in direct financial assistance to aid the upper income American famer,"[45] a policy that continued in the fifties and sixties without substantial modification. In 1955 the Department of Agriculture released a study documenting the extent of rural poverty which indicated that in 1955 there 1.5 million farmers with incomes of $1,000 or less."[46] The issue of assistance to the rural poor was resolved by what Sen. Paul Douglas described as a "conversation bill" as opposed to a program of direct financial assistance. The Agricultural (now Cooperative) Extension Service was expanded to challenge rural poverty through counseling and information services. In 1956 direct financial assistance which accrued primarily to large commercial farmers was provided by a raising of price supports and a fient toward production repression through the Soil Bank.[47]

Although the supposedly intended and announced goal of the supply-management agricultural policies instituted in the 1930s "has been to alleviate poverty on farms,"[48] landowners rather than labor have been main beneficiaries of the price-support program. The price-support program has increased the capitalized values of land owners.[49] As farms have changed hands at higher and higher prices, a substantial share of the realized capital gain has been channeled into the non-farm sector through inheritance with a resulting increase in fixed cost and reduced net income to the new owner.[50]

Agricultural policy over the last four decades illustrates the contention that the dual welfare of the United States is structured to perpetuate poverty consisting of "one set of welfare programs for the dominant, nonpoor majority, all in one way or another protected by camouflage, and another set for the poor..." There is no escaping the conclusion that agricultural policy has provided a massive subsidy to middle-and upper-income agriculturalists,[51] and "has deliberately ignored the economic circumstances of the bottom half of American farmers" and, through its policy measures, by "encouraging increased concentration in agriculture, has contributed directly to the economic deprivation of the rural poor."[52]

Few will argue against the proposition that the nature of rural land tenure is intimately related to the character of the social order. There is a distinct historical correlation between democratic conditions and free-holder status of soil tillers in control of their own enterprise, and societies where farming lands are owned and controlled by a management class wherein those engaged in actual production are merely serfs, peasants, or hired laborers. Indeed, it might be argued that concentration on microeconomic problems of farm enterprises to the neglect of larger intermediate (ownership, autonomy, opportunity, access) macroeconomic factors has factored into numerous contemporary social problems.[53] Agriculture based upon the essentials of industrial production--extensive holdings, heavy mechanization and capitalization--which translate organizational elements of urban life onto the rural landscape may well foster differentials of power that lead to alienation and apathy in the mass population.

Goldschmidt, with direct relevance to the search for the causes and consequences of contemporary poverty and its effect on the self-concept, dignity, and opportunity for autonomous independence of the contemporary population, has noted that one of the basic beliefs which set the course of American history was that the nature of land tenure is closely related to the character of the social order. American society, he states, was built upon the assumption that the nation would be largely populated by independent enterpreneurs, artisans, self-employed professionals, and independent farmers.[54] He points out that the vision of the future under increased corporate control of the land or landholding in large segments by fewer persons is not an inevitable development.[55] And, as Hightower has pointed out, "before the family farmer is discarded, we ought to take a hard look at where we are being led. It is not just the family farm that is threatened by agribusiness, it is the price and quality of the American food supply."[56] He adds that in a corporate-controlled integrated processing and marketing "efficient" system food system prices go up rather than down. Even this may not be the biggest price consumers pay for corporate food production, since 1) substitution of technonology for labor, 2) standardization and monopoly control of the food supply, and 3) synthetic foods, are a product of the "brave new agriculture."[57] An understanding of contemporary rural poverty requires a recognititon of the effect of national farm policy. Generally ignored, however, is the degree to which the massive transformation in Southern agriculture in the last four decades lies in the realm of political rather than market considerations.

EFFECTIVELY COMBATING RURAL POVERTY

Alleviation of rural poverty and dependency will be of benefit not only to rural areas and individuals, but will also be a step toward the lessening of the potential for increased urban area social and welfare problems. Ford has noted that the rural poor in the South have been trapped by simultaneous change in both the agricultural and nonagricultural sectors of the economy. He contends that government subsidy programs have encouraged displacement of large quantities of agricultural labor while structural change in the nonagricultural sector constrained employment opportunities for low-skilled labor. The result has been a set of economic conditions wherein substantial economic growth could take place without a significant reduction in the number of rural poor.[58]

Ruttan has suggested that a first step in a realistic effort to deal with rural poverty is to recognize that it is not appropriate to gear efforts at reducing poverty to a) programs to increase agricultural production or b) to increase nonfarm employment in rural areas since 1) production expansion will not provide new jobs in rural areas since 2) the potential number of new jobs created by such activities in the remaining poverty pockets will at best be limited relative to the size of the poverty problem.

Ruttan further points out that a prosperous agriculture no longer implies a prosperous rural community. The rural community and commercial agriculture are no longer joined in a mutuality of interest stemming from the possibility of a common solution to their economic problems since the economic relationship that previously existed through the product market and the market for purchased inputs is rapidly disappearing.[59]

Several suggestions are offered as indicating a direction in which it would seem desirable to move in order to effectively combat rural poverty and respect the Jeffersonian principle of increased access to opportunity. These do not sacrifice overall community welfare for economic expansion which may run counter to community interests. They include suggestions regarding rural industrial development, opportunites for black labor, capital intensive industries, fiscal policy, technological and research orientation, and a theory of welfare economics.

Rural Industrial Development

Experience with industrial or factory employment in Mississippi soon made it apparent that off-farm work insured an improved income source for low-income families and was an effective and direct route to increased levels-of-living.[60] Increased employment opportunities for female household members in low wage industries can be a significant factor in allowing for either a) small farm ownership or b) improved levels-of-living among owners. Furthermore, small farms can function as a viable anti-poverty device by supplementing retirement or low-wage incomes. Put another way, farm incomes can be supplemented by low wage industrial or pension incomes. The small farm may offer self-regulated employment opportunities to satisfy creative, expressionistic, or autonomous urges.[61]

Rural development should be of such nature as to be of benefit to indigenous citizens and not provide burdensome opportunity costs.[62] It is questionable whether the goal of rural development should be to import high wage industry or to necessarily increase the current trends of apportioning agricultural income in larger segments among fewer persons. Rural areas need the kind of industry that can utilize the labor force available, not the kind of development which superimposes high grade industries upon the indigenous population.[63] From a social cost or opportunity perspective, low-wage industrial development that will allow low skilled individuals to find employment is a greater need than is high wage industry which, though perhaps availing itself of the natural resources and public developments of an area, is not suited for absorption of the labor force available.[64] Furthermore, rural industrialization does not always mean creation of jobs for the unemployed in those areas because of the inmigration of other workers.[65]

Education and high aspiration may impell youth to move toward areas of job opportunity irrespective of degree of satisfaction with their communtiy of orientation.[66] Older, less income, less aspiring persons, in particular, would seem to benefit from low wage industrial employment in proximity to their current residence.[67] Diel[68] observes that "farm people do migrate in response to income incentives," and that special skill training programs may aid the transfer of agricultural labor to nonfarm jobs." Hansen and Yukhin report that despite previously held views, young adults in lagging regions are willing and ready to move given sufficient incentive, and are highly sensitive to relative wages in location alternatives.[69]

Opportunities for Black Labor

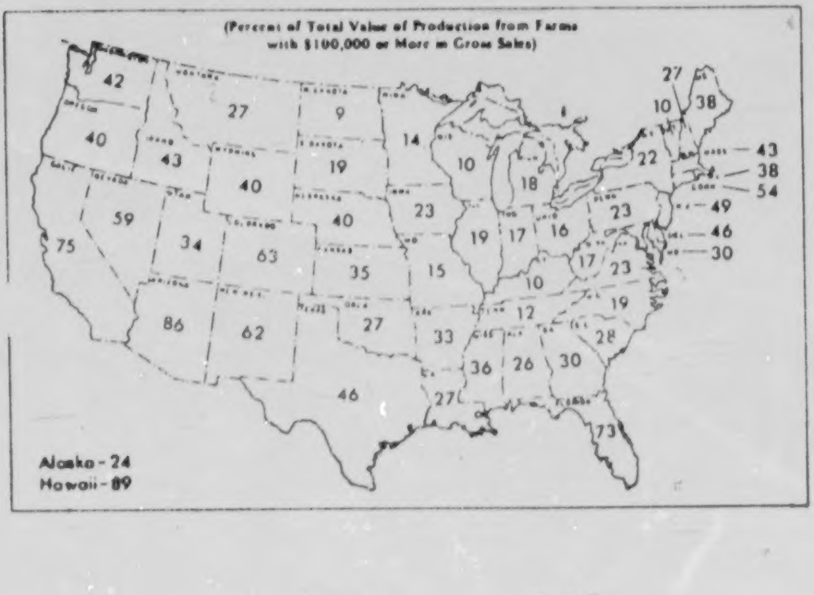
There is some evidence that industry has tended to avoid predominantly black areas. In those 244 rural counties with 5,000 or more blacks in 1970, blacks have not shared proportionately in job growth, and they have participated even less in the more highly skilled job opportunities. Blacks have traditionally had lower levels of education and training,[70] particularly in areas where the sharecropping system predominated. Of all agricultural experience, sharecropping probably has done the least to prepare people for nonfarm employment because it provided little incentive or opportunity for human resource development.[71]

It should also be questioned whether the public should finance the entry of private industry into an area, particularly unless its impact would not be to increase opportunity costs for the low-income population by driving up prices. If rural areas are not economically viable because of lack of profit making opportunities in ways of benefit to the low-income population, there could nevertheless be community development corporations, cooperatives, or other organizations motivated by employment (rather than by profit maximization or tax write-offs) who could engage in activities which were profitable (and/or which delivered services to consumers ar lower costs),[72] in the sense of returning costs, even though these were not the most "profitable" uses of resources.[73]

Government Fiscal Policy

Farm production in the United States is concentrated in a relatively small number of farms. In 1974 the 115,000 largest farms (sales of $100,000 or more) were 4% of all farms, but made 47% of all sales. Figure 1 shows percent of total value of agricultural production in Mississippi by farms with sales in excess of $100,000 in 1969. While the amount of concentration is not as pronounced in Mississippi as it is in some states, over one-third of the total sales in Mississippi in 1969 were by enterprises which made sales in excess of $100,000.

FIGURE 1


(Percent of Total Value of Production from Farms with $100,000 or More in Gross Sales)

Source: Harold F. Breimyer, "The Changing American Farm," Annals, 429 (January, 1977), p. 19.

Government price and income programs have 1) increased the tax burdens of the poor and agriculturally nonfranchised, 2) have encouraged the concentration of production in larger sized units, and 3) have artificially restricted yeoman opportunity by increasing land and entry costs.[74] These developments were particularly "true prior to the imposition of a dollar limit on size of payment going to a single farmer. Working most in favor of larger farms," Breimyer opines, "have been the various income tax rules."[75] Naylor and Clotfelter[76] express the view that the Department of Agriculture should depart from its present policy of forty years duration of subsidation of large-scale capital intensive farm operations. At the State level steps would seem to be order to insure that agriculture does not provide a taxhaven for wealthy natives nor for out-of-state corporate type investors.[77] Among the possible developments which might be considered to determine whether feasible and/or desirable are the following:

a) Encouragement of land grant colleges and extension service reorientation toward research on the development and utilization of crops, machines, techniques, and technical assistance, for small to moderate (say, less than 200 acres) size farm operators.

b) Prohibition of businesses with major investments in nonfarms from engaging in agricultural production.

c) Prevention of multi-state farming and/or ranching enterprises from engaging in agricultural production or owning land in Mississippi.

d) Tax breaks with diminishing size, and a graduated land tax with larger holdings taxed at a higher rate.

Goldschmidt has pointed out that "Government policies with respect to tax laws, agricultural subsidies and farm labor have been portent forces affecting the growth of large-scale corporate farming. This growth cannot therefore be said to be natural; it is the result of forcefeeding, of the injection of fiscal hormones. If the growth of corporate farming can be force-fed, so too can the time-honored traditions of American life."[78]

Barnes has recommended a state severance tax which would fall most heavily on extractive companies who currently benefit from a wide variety of federal and State tax preferences" as an highly appropriate levey since "the resources they extract are a gift of nature to all, not to just a privileged few," plus an unearned increment tax(exempting small farms and businesses) which would be borne "almost entirely by large landowning corporations and real estate speculators" with greatest impact on owners of urban and urban fringe land as appropriate steps consistent with the Jeffersonian principle that ownership of the land in small parcels by those who work and live on it is a key to alleviating poverty, easing urban overcrowding, reducing welfare costs and unemployment, protecting the environment and maximizing individual autonomy conducive to republican government.[79]

Government policies should be structured so as to mimimize increases in land values.[80] This goal is likely to be compounded by the threat of population increase (particularly in an area as desirable for exploitation as Mississippi) and accompanying land development and expansion of large-scale agribusiness. Public policy makers might well consider those policy measures consistent with republican govenrment which meet Jefferson's advice that "it is not to soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land."[81]

Technological Research, and Service Orientation

Hightower and DeMarco have recommended that question be raised as to whether the costs of the "mechanical, chemical, genetical and managerial research conducted by the land grant college complex" do not overwhelm the benefits. If anti-poverty policy is to be a criterion of judgement, the question of who benefits, the distribution of benefits, and at whose expense they are made becomes an important consideration.

Hightower and DeMarco[82] suggest that the research orientation of the land grant colleges should be redirected in the interests of consumers and small size operations rather than being designed to "sell" the consumer on products, to determine what influences shopper's decision making, or strengthening the art of enticing consumer appeal through packaging. It might be wise, for example, if the research emphasis on strains of vegetables which can be machine harvested[83] were replaced with or equalized by an emphasis on small scale and reduced-cost technology.[84] Due to the expense of much modern equipment, loan facilities might be considered under the auspcies of the branch experiment stations and/or the county cooperative extension entities. Thus, equipment could be rented on a daily basis (with limitations on the number of days rental so as not to subsidize large operations) at low cost to gardeners, small famrers, and agriculturally interested persons who could not make such capital purchases.[85]

Theory of Welfare Economics

Bishop has suggested the appropriateness of a new welfare economics that provides a better theory of social investment and focuses more sharply upon the distribution of costs and benefits from public policy. He expresses the qualified optimism that hopefully the time is approaching when those sufficiently favored to be agricultural producers "will no longer be able to obtain high price supports for farm commodities under the pretext of increasing the incomes of low-income farm families."[86]

Prior to the devastating rise in food prices in 1973 the federal farm price-support program cost the American tax-payer $5 billion a year in direct budgetary outlays plus an additional $4.5 million in higher food prices. Programs which funnel the majority of their resources into subsidies for the wealthy farmers with less benefits going to the poor families are prima facie candidates for revocation if any supposed benefit to low-income families is a criteria. Naylor and Clotfelter, noting that "our present national farm policy does virtually nothing to alleviate the problems of the rural South," recommended a "phasing out of the price-support program with the objective of completely terminating it in five years."[87]

SUMMARY

Land tenure or the conditions under which landed property is held is a fundamental factor in the way economic resources are allocated in a community. The agricultural revolution has resulted in an apportioning of farm income in larger and larger segments among fewer and fewer recipients. The fact that total farm income may be increasing is not necessarily a sign that area quality of life is improving. Area income does not represent increased social benefits merely because of its magnitude apart from the question of at whose expense and at what opportunity costs the increased income is obtained. Area income may be dramatically increase over time without an appreciable decrease in poverty.

Understanding of contemporary rural poverty requires a recognition of the effect of national farm policy and the degree to which the massive transformations in Southern agriculture are the result of political rather than market considerations. Suggestions offered as directions toward which public policy should move forward in ameliorating rural poverty are presented respective to rural industrial development, opportunities for black labor, government fiscal policy, technological, research and service orientation, and theory of welfare economics.

1. "Where land was abundant and the voyage to the New World itself a claim to independence, the spirit which repudiated peasantry flourished with ease." Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America (1955), cited in Harold F. Breimyer, "The Changing American Farm," Annals, 429 (January, 1977), p. 14. With land and the opportunity it presented in America "the gutter sweepings of Europe became sturdy yeomen and citizens" free of an hereditary nobility. Clay L. Cochran, "Public Policy and Rural America," Rural America, 1 (December 1976- January, 1977) p. 7.

2. R.B. Highsaw and C.N. Fortenberry, Mississippi (New York: Crowell, 1952), p. 14.

3. C.C. Eason, "The Old Order Passes, Mississippi Business Review, 26 (October, 1964), pp. 9-10.

4. "The land is still the cradle of great poverty and injustice... Who owns the land? What are the social, economic, and environmental consequences of present land ownership patterns? Few questions are more important for the future of America's land and people..." Peter Barnes, in Peter Barnes (ed.), The People's Land: A Reader on Land Reform in the United States. (Emmanus, Pa.: Rodale Press, 1975). pp. ix-x.

5. Barnes has observed that "In any given county, whether urban or rural, the ten largest property owners often own ten to fifteen percent of the assessed valuation. In many parts of the country, it is the giant landlords...timber companies, railroads, energy companies, corporate farms...that dominate the livelihood of local citizens." Ibid., p. x. "The concentration and control of land and marketing is growing rapidly , posing a threat of freedom of entry...to competition and fair prices. By 1969 151,000 farmers (5.5%) controlled over half the land. The use of economic power includes the power of corporations to buy land in large quantities..." Rural America, 1 (Dec. 1976- Jan. 1977), p. 9.

6. Ibid., p. 3. See Twelve Southerners, I'll Take My Stand (New York: Harper and Bros., 1930) for a basic statement in advocacy of expansion of the agricultural segment of the American economy in a Jeffersonian democratic structure as the desired goal for the South.

7. John Van Sickle, Planning for the South, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1943). For a statement of the psychological and social boost which access to land provided to persons favored by the Farm Security Administration Resettlement Program, see Lester M. Salamon, Land and Minority Enterprise (Washington: Office of Minority Enterprise, 1976), pp. 29-53.

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8. As Ford has quite appropriately pointed out, this issue is fundamental to policy regarding rural poverty since if the agrarian transition is associated with the type, magnitude, and direction of political intervention rather than market inefficiency, a quite different set of remedial policy measures would be appropriate . Arthur M. Ford, *Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South*. (Cambridge: Ballinger Pub. Co., 1973), p. 35. Marshall has suggested that "...our understanding is defective partly because the study of rural matters has been left mainly to the agribusiness establishment...the land grant colleges, the United States Department of Agriculture and related agribusiness organizations...these agencies have had a large farmer, agribusiness bias and have paid too little attention to small farmers and the rural nonfarm sector." Ray Marshall, Presidential address, "Program and Research Issues in Rural Development," Southern Economic Association, November, 1974. Cf.: Jim Hightower, "Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times," *Society* (November-December 1972). The problem, however, is not so much that researchers have not been aware of the low-income rural population, but that programs which have been implemented have frequently been counterproductive to their interests although perhaps promoting some kind of economic "efficiency" in terms of apportioning farm income in larger segments among fewer people.

9. Frank Welch, *The Rural Family and Its Source of Income* (State College: Mississippi AES Bulletin 481, 1951); Herbert Hoover and John C. Crecink, *Rural Nonfarm Families of Mississippi - Incomes and Resources*, (State College: Mississippi AES Bulletin 648, 1962); Harold Kaufman, *Rural Families with Low Incomes: Problems of Adjustment* (State College: Mississippi State University, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 9, 1957); Carlton R. Sollie, *Survey of Families in a Low Income County* (State College, Mississippi AES, Progress Report in Socioligy and Rural Life No. 34, 1969, 1969); Mary Jo Grimstead, *et al* , *Social and Labor Adjustment of Rural Black Americans in the Mississippi Delta* (Washington: USDA, Agricultural Economics Report 274, 1974); C. Bryan and Alvin Bertrand, *Propensity for Change Among the Rural Poor in the Mississippi Delta* (Washington: USDA, AER 185, 1970); John Crecink and Roosevelt Toestep, *Human Resources in the Mississippi Delta with Emphasis on the Poor* (Washington: AER 170, 1970).

10. Ford contends that Michael Harrington's (*The Other America*) labelling of the poverty in rural places as the "harshest and most bitter poverty in existence was one of "surprise and disbelief." After all, with the millions of tax transfers, deductions, and research and development expenditures in the name of agricultural programs for farm operators and rural populations, the question of "how could there be any rural poor?" seemed reasonable. If the casual observer should consult a phone book, it would seem that rural problems have long since been beaten into abeyance if not outrightly solved to whatever extent public agencies could affect a solution. Under USDA,

for example, one finds circa forty numbers in the Jackson, Mississippi phone book. Rural housing, farmer programs, community programs, special projects, and engineers are among the titles listed for one agency. In addition there are the State-county cooperative extension personnel.

11. The U.S. Code Congresisonal and Administrative News observes regarding the House Agriculture Committee Report on the Rural Development Act of 1972 (P.L. 92-419): "The Committee's hearings on rural development revealed the need for a better life in rural America. Time and again, facts were cited by witnesses to describe some of the serious problems facing those in rural areas." U.S. Code Congressional and Administrative News (2nd Congress-Second Session-1972), Vol. 2, Legislative History (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1973), p. 3148. Seemingly, rural areas are not to be blessed with benign neglect.

12. David Boyne, "Changes In Income Distribution in Agriculture, "Journal of Farm Economics, 47 (December, 1965), pp. 1213-1224. Olaf Larson, "Rural Poverty in the United States," Journal of Farm Economics, 49, (December, 1967), p. 1235, 1239. However, the metro-nonmetro area income gap has shown a decrease since 1969. Congressional Research Service,"Rural Development Goals: Critique of the Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Agriculture to the Congress." Unpublished paper prepared at the request of the Congressional Rural Caucus (October 27, 1976), p.13.

13. "Farm subsidies historically were sold on the grounds that they protect our sturdy yoeman farmer-a good man to have around in a crisis, as was proved on Concord Bridge so many years ago. That's not how it worked out...Schultze found that the wealthiest 7 per cent of farm families got federal benefits averaging $14,000 per family, bringing their net farm income up to $27,500. Meanwhile, the poorest 4 per cent of farmers got $300 apiece, for an average income of $1,100. Of the total subsidy to farms, 63 per cent went to the wealthiest 19 percent, while the poorest half of the farm population shared 9 per cent of the pie. The government was picking out the richest farmers, who already made more than the average eater, and was writing them checks that doubled their pay, while the poor yeoman remained just that. Still, the eating public, unhappy about food prices, has aimed little of its fury at the farm subsidies. This was true even in 1972, when the farm swindle went international, and the beneficiaries were not just rich American socialists, but real foreign socialists...That was the year of the great Russian deal, which, besides enriching a few insiders in the grain business (who were alert enough to ask for a tax break on their profits), had as its main effect the driving up of food prices in the United States, so that Russians were paying less than Americans for bread made from American wheat. Even that did not arouse much visible anger, perhaps because the whole transaction was so complicated. Its meaning was not hard to comprehend, however, as Lester G. Maddox proved when he distilled its

essence into one sentence: 'the Russians got our grain, the Administration got credit for the deal, the speculators got the profit, and the rest of us got the bill.'" David Hapgood, *The Screwing of the Average Man* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1974), pp. 268-269.

14. Ellen S. Bryant and K.M. Leung, *Mississippi Farm Trends 1950 to 1964*, (State College: Mississippi AES Bulletin 754, 1967), p. 3. Clarence Poe, long time editor of *The Progressive Farmer* quoted Dr. Carver on the true test of agricultural progress: "The final test of a good agriculture is the growing of good men and women who are throughbreds in the real sense of the word." Clarence Poe, *Farm Life: Problems and Opportunities*, cited in *A Southern Album* (Birmingham: Oxmoor House, 1975). In reality, however, the human equation is often preempted by the economic so that so-called economic "progress" is uncritically regarded as synonymous with human progress, and efficiency for whom and at what social and human cost has been excluded from the calculus of agricultural policy. Consequently, expressions such as the following seem to be widely accepted as self-defining of the kind of result toward which policy should be directed without taking the lost opportunity costs of those who do not benefit from the "efficient allocations" into the calculus:

> The cornerstone of the Mississippi economy is the ever growing and vibrant agricultural sector. Larger farming units, more efficient allocations of land resources, and utilization of the latest technology on this land has paved the way to increased cash farm income. Combine this productivity and cash returns with the diversification achieved in agriculture in the past twenty years and the agricultural economy, as well as the economy of Mississippi as a whole, emerges stronger and more stable than ever before.

Phillip W. Pepper, "Trends in Mississippi Agriculture--1950-1973," in *Mississippu Agricultural Statistics 1954-1973*, (Jackson: Mississippi and United States Department of Agriculture, 1975), p. iv.

15. Bryant and Leung, p. 4. The generally neglected fact in this interpretation, however, is that much of the impetus for the massive transformation of agriculture lies in the realm of political rather than market considerations, and justification of the resulting displacements in the name of efficiency is to ignore the fact that uncontrolled market activity had little to do with the process. Demographers and other casual commentators, noting the tripartite correlation between increased capitalization, increase farm size, and decreased number of units, regarded the transition as a pari passau result of the "efficiency" of larger enterprises and the competitive nature of modern agriculture...forcing inefficient owenr enterprises out of operation." Bryant and Leung, p. 4. Cf.: I. Tower, *Miss-*

issippi's Changing Economy (Jackson: Mississippi R & D Center, 1974), p. ix.

16. Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Nonfarming Population: A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950 to 1970 (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin 809, 1974), pp. 6, 14.

17. Arthur Kelly, "Small Farm Land Tenure in the Yazoo Basin," Mississippi Geographer, 3 (Spring, 1975), p. 42. Kelly points out in this study that one of the many reasons given for the downfall of the Roman Empire was the passing of the yeomen farmer and their replacement by large estates. He adds that "whether the economics of this statement could be proved statistically or not, an analogy might be made as a warning for future land tenure in the United States. The average farm size more than doubled in the fifty year period from 1910 to 1960 and has increased another twenty percent in the last decade." P. 37.

18. For example, see John Faulkner, Dollar Cotton; David Cohn, Where I was Born and Raised; William A. Percy, Lanterns on the Levy; Holmes Adams, "Writers of Greenville, Mississippi, 1915-1950," Journal of Mississippi History, 32 (August, 1970), pp. 229-244.

19. D.C. Mosely and C.C. Williams, An Analysis and Evaluation of a Community Action Anti-Poverty Program in the Mississippi Delta (State College: Mississippi State University, College of Business and Industry, 1967), p.1.

20. William L. Giles, "The Agricultural Revolution in the Delta," Journal of Mississippi History, 31 (May, 1969), p. 87.

21. Sollie's analysis of tenure and land ownership indicated that in Sharkey County, where the rate of farm family poverty was highest in 1959, only 25.4% of the farm operators were owners. The rate of ownership in the county with the lowest rate of farm family poverty (Jackson) was over ninety percent. Carlton R. Sollie, Family Poverty in Mississippi: Extent, Distribution and Related Factors, (State College: Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 21, 1969), p. 17. "Family Poverty in Mississippi... is most likely found among Negroes in rural areas of the Delta..." Ibid., p. 47.

22. Virlyn Boyd and Carolyn A. Morgan, Synthesis of Findings from Southern Regional Cooperative Research Project S-44: Factors in the Adjustment of Families and Individuals in Low-Income Rural Areas of the South, (Clemson University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, n.d.).

23. The Delta was an area where large numbers of black tenants were employed in cotton production. So intense was the cultivation that the pictures of tenant houses with cotton growing almost to the doorstep (no space to waste for individual gardens) is

a revealing portrait of the distinct lack of enlightenment by which some practices were conducted. Retention of the source of labor for the labor intensive cotton production was an item of concern for Delta planters. Agricultural policy (beginning with the AAA in the 1930s) and mechanization (subsequent to World War II) exerted combined and bilateral effect on changing the industry from a labor to a capital intensive enterprise, releasing large quantities of low skilled labor which area industrialization and the heavy but inadequate volume of out-migration to Illinois, Michigan, and other points have not been sufficient to relieve. Boyd and Morgan, p. 24. While introduction of the gasoline powered tractor in the 1930s heralded a new age, the tractor did not come into its own in the Delta until the development of the mechanical cotton harvester and the improvement of weed control technology after World War II. There was little incentive to invest in an expensive harvester while maintaining a large labor force for thinning and weed control. Vestiges of mule farming were evident as recently as the early 1950s. "Agricultural revolution in the Delta resulted from the efforts of many individuals working toward the common objective of greater efficiency...planters, scientists, and extension workers. Farm equipment manufacturers and the chemical industry have played major roles in moving technology forward...dependable sources of credit have been essential to finance machines and the application of practices." So great have been the accomplishments born of this "cooperation and understanding" that "capital investment on a Delta farm is nearly twice the investment per worker in industry. A two-row picker...costs $22,000." Giles, "The Agricultural Revolution in the Delta," pp. 86-87.

24. Sollie, *Land Tenure Patterns and Use*, p. 6.

25. Dorothy Dickens, *Improved Levels of Living of Tenant Families*, (State College: Mississippi AES Bulletin 365, 1942); U.S. Department of Commerce and USDA Cooperative Report, *Farm Tenure: A Graphic Summary*, 1950 (Washington, 1952); USDA, *A Statistical Summary of Land Tenure, 1954*, (USDA Agricultural Information Bulletin 200, 1958); Frank Maier, et al , *The Tenure Status of Farmworkers in the United States*, (USDA Technical Bulletin, 1217, 1960).

25. For discussion of types of tenancy tenure systems, see Alvin Bertrand and F.L. Corty, *Rural Land Tenure in the United States* (Baton Rogue: LSU Press, 1962). Raper and Reid use the term "sharecroppers" to apply to many non-farm workers on whom the social and economic system impose the same hardship of subservience and deprivation. Observing that throughout America's history "new types of exploitation have been hit upon as the gleanings from the old diminished," they feel that the sharecropping system made many Southern communities essentially feudalistic, involving low wages, insecurity, and lack of opportunity for self-direction and responsible participation in community affairs. Arthur Raper and Ira Reid , *Sharecroppers*

All (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp. v, vi, 213. For a particularly graphic portrait of the Southern tenant farmer in the 1930s, see Erksine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White, *You Have Seen Their Faces*, (New York: Viking Press, 1937).

27. "While cotton was the first major crop to benefit from machine technology, it was the last to become completely mechanized. A cotton picker that would harvest the ripe bolls and leave green ones wasn't devised until 1942. After that, and with the end of World War II, cotton picking rapidly became a job for machines...Next, the development and widespread adoption of chmeical weed killers in the 1950s and 60s virtually eliminated hand labor in cotton. In the early 60s, less than a third of the cotton was treated with herbicide. By 1972, over 90% was treated...In the 1920s, it took 270 hours of labor to produce a bale of cotton. In 1948, that was down to 120 hours; today, it takes 25 hours." Joe Dan Boyd, "Cotton," Review of Ben Robertson, *Red Hills, and Cott*[illegible] (Reprint of 1942 edition, University of South Carolina Press, 1976), *Farm Journal* (March, 1976), pp. 44,5;Cf.: Thomas R. Brooks, *Walls Come Tumbling Down: A History of the Civil Rights Movement 1940-1970* Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 91-92; Frank J. Welch, *The Plantation Land Tenure System in Mississippi*, (Mississippi AES, June, 1943), Harold A. Peterson and Arthur Raper, *The Cotton Plantation in Transition*, (Mississippi AES, 1954); F.S. Welch and D.G. Miley, *Mechanization of the Cotton Harvest*, (Mississippi AES Bulletin 420,1945); Nelson L. LeRay and Grady Crowe, *Labor and Technology on Selected Cotton Plantations in the Delta Area of Mississippi*, (Mississippi AES Bulletin No. 575, 1959).

28. W.A. Stacey, *et al*, *Mississippi Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects*, (State College: Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 18, 1966), pp. 3-4, Bryant, pp. 8-9.

29. Robert S. Browne, "The South," in *The Peoples Land*, pp. 40-14. Cf.: James Fisher, "Negro Farm Ownership in the South," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 63 (December, 1973).

30. The distribution of black land ownership in the South is presented in the following table:

Extent of Black Landownership in 14 Southern States, 1969

	Total		Black Full Owners		Black Part Owners	
	Nonwhite Landowners	As % of all Landowners	Total Number	As % of all full owners	Total Number	As % of all part owners
Number	66,815	6.3%	51,757	6.32%	15,058	6.23%
Acres	5,640,962	2.0%	3,779,317	2.56%	1,869,645	1.38%
Acres per farm	84.5	31.7%	73.0	40.6%	124.2	22.2%

Distribution of Black Farm Landowners and Acres of Black-Owned Farm Land Among 14 Southern States, 1969

	Total Black Landowners		Black Full Owners				Black Part Owners			
	Number	%	Number	%	Acres	%	Number	%	Acres	%
Alabama	7,226	10.8	5,486	10.6	440,791	11.7	1,740	11.6	196,078	10.5
Arkansas	3,013	4.5	2,153	4.2	139,029	3.7	860	5.7	147,186	7.9
Florida	1,243	1.9	953	1.8	78,043	2.1	290	1.9	55,334	3.0
Georgia	4,450	6.7	3,477	6.7	403,463	10.7	973	6.5	175,010	9.4
Kentucky	1,585	2.4	1,341	2.6	82,105	2.2	244	1.6	24,176	1.3
Louisiana	3,884	5.8	3,034	5.9	170,838	4.5	850	5.6	102,942	5.5
MISSISSIPPI	14,527	21.7	12,222	23.6	949,310	25.1	2,305	15.3	313,042	16.7
Missouri	358	0.5	282	0.5	32,987	0.9	76	0.5	14,212	0.8
North Carolina	9,687	14.5	7,107	13.7	373,929	9.8	2,580	17.2	184,932	9.8
South Carolina	7,514	11.2	5,595	10.8	310,371	8.2	1,919	12.7	169,674	9.1
Tennessee	3,890	5.8	2,998	5.8	182,624	4.8	892	5.9	102,611	5.5
Texas	4,747	7.1	3,720	7.2	357,538	9.5	1,027	6.8	222,120	11.9
Virginia	4,646	7.0	3,356	6.5	255,054	6.7	1,290	8.6	155,620	8.3
West Virginia	45	0.1	33	0.1	3,233	0.1	12	0.1	6,708	0.3
Total	**66,815**	**100.0**	**51,757**	**100.0**	**3,779,315**	**100.0**	**15,058**	**100.0**	**1,869,645**	**100.0**

Source: Lester M. Salamon, Land and Minority Enterprise: The Crisis and the Opportunit (Washington: Office of Minority Business Enterprise, June 30, 1976).

31. Seemingly indicative of substantive fact is the lyric "Way Down South in Mississippi."

> The evening stars shine brighter, And glad is every
> dewy morn,
> Way down South in Mississippi, Folks are happy they've
> been born.
> They're glad they've found Mississippi, Things so
> good and future so bright,
> The soft white clouds are winging, Up from the Gulf's
> sandy shore,
> Oh, its a glad land, Mississippi...

Verne Barnes and Josie Gautier. Copywright 1948 by Bobo Miller, Inc. This source, House Bill No. 896, Regular Session 1977, p.1.

32. Browne, p. 41. Howver, a caveat is in order in that size limits should be imposed on the amount of land, say 150 acres or less, which any government funded, financed, or operated agency should be able to assist an individual in accumulating. The person who does not inherit land directly or who does not possess sufficient capital for purchasing land as well as the "poor without assets, and often very little in the way of skills" and thus fail to meet the minimum qualification for participation in existing programs, would be victimized by any new institutions which provide yet another form of categorical assistance without any limitation on the expansionist tendencies of those who already own a minimum amount of land. Thus the need is for a program of 1) financing which allows anyone to acquire a minimum amount of land for purposes of self-dignity, productivity, retreat, and security, and 2) cessation of all programs by the government which increase the price of land and prevent its widespread distribution. This means that those who already possess minimum amounts of land must not be encouraged by public policies to increase their holdings in the interest of maximizing their dollar returns from agriculture. If anti-poverty, self-dignity, and opportunity is the goal, the interests of land speculators, large landholders, and suppliers of equipment to highly capitalized landowners must not take precedence in the formation and administration of public policy. Legislative developments to this end, including reasonable progressive taxation, curative laws for retention of mineral rights which have not been transferred, and penalties for unearned increments would seem to be in order.

33. Carlton R. Sollie, Land Tenure Patterns and Use in Three North Mississippi Counties (State College: Progress Report in Sociology and Rural Life No. 33., 1969), p.1.

34. For example, see John L. Fulmer, Agricultural Progress in the Cotton Belt Since 1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1950), p. 70. The eminent agrarian John Donald Wade once observed that "a farm is a place to grow corn, not to

grow rich." There has been some indication that farmers with high or antifarm aspirations were the most likely to leave farming. It may be suggested by obiter that economic incentives should not be employed to entice or retain farmers. The position taken here is that agriculture, the fundamental survival occupation, should be the respository of persons whose interest is other than acquisitiveness. One study of low-income farm operators reported that farmers with low incomes liked farming, planned to continue farming, and would chose to farm if starting over again. Farmers with low aspirations, while not necessarily "oriented toward economic success in farming," were pleased with their style of life. It was concluded that whenever "...poor people may not want to be other poor," policies designed to develop farms as accumulation devices for higher incomes may not be effective. F. C. Fliegel, "Aspirations of Low-Income Farmers and Their Performance Potential for Change," *Rural Sociology*, 24 (September, 1959), pp. 209-214.

35. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1947), p. 54.

36. Ford, p. 27

37. Correspondence of Ray Marshall to James Naylor, quoted in *Strategies for Change in the South*, p. 267. The problem, however, is not a racial one as it is the blocking of entry access to persons who would be satisfied by an agricultural existence, which is reflected in these statistics. That is, it is low-income rural people who have been victimized, not persons of any racial category. Also, when opportunity of entry is the criteria, the relative disadvantage compared with other farm operators might make small landholders greatly privileged in comaparison to those who are totally disfranchised.

38. V.L. Christian and A. Pepelasis, "Farm Size as a Factor in the Relative Displacement of Black Farm Families." Paper presented at the Conference on Rural Manpower Problems, Center for Study of Human Resources, Univ. of Texas, 1971. However, black farm owners in the South outperform all farm owners in terms of gross profits and investment in machinery and equipment. *Land and Minority Enterprise*, p. 2. The smaller average size of the holdings of black landowners may be a positive sign of current or past advantage in terms of opportunity for access.

39. "Every third row of cotton was plowed under and a million or so pigs slaughtered and buried. This seems a peculiar way to clothe and feed an ill-clad hungry population." Billy Boetz, "The Mad Depression Revisited," *Intellect* (January, 1976), p. 309.

40. Boetz has argued that the strategy of meeting a simultaneous falling off of business volume (depression) by price and wage maintenance policies is a "dog chasing its tail" as well as prime example of "the inexorable madness of the human race."

Since we can only consume what we produce, and maintenance of the maximum level of production makes possible a maximum level of consumption, i.e., the highest possible standard of living, a cutting of prices (goods, materials, wages, salaries, rents) makes it possible for inventories to be cleared and goods to move into the hands of consumers. Maintenance of prices makes it impossible to interrupt the downward spiral of reduced volume, reduced employment, and further reduced column in a continuing spiral. Ibid., pp. 305, 309.

41. See David Conrad, The Forgotten Farmers: The Story of Sharecroppers in the New Deal (Urbanna: University of Illinois Press, 1965); Donald Grubbs, Cry from the Cotton: The Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the New Deal (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1971); J.S. Auerbach, "Southern Tenant Farmers : Socialist Critics of the New Deal," Labor History, 7 (1966), pp. 5-13; Lowell K. Dyson, "The Southern Tenant Farmers Union and Depression Politics," Political Science Quarterly (June, 1973), pp. 231-252 for discussion of the reaction of small tenant farmers, farm laborers, and sharecroppers to the effect of federal policies initiated in the 1930s which seemed not only to be bringing them no benefits but to be driving large numbers of them from the land.

42. "...changes in per capita income are not adequate measures of economic development because they ignore the distributional effects of development. It is entirely possible for per capita income to increase and many groups be worse off absolutely and relatively." Marshall, "Program and Research Issues in Rural Development," p. 24. "Its' like I say Nelson Rockefeller and I have $2 billion between us. He has $1,999,999,999 and I have $1. That doesn't help me much. In fact, it often hurts." Ralph Blumenthal, "The Surburban Poor," in The Paradox of Poverty in America, p. 79.

43. In economic argot an externally is said to exist when an action of one person or group directly affects (outside of normal market relationships) the welfare of another person or group. Edgar K. Browning, Redistribution and the Welfare System (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1975), p. 48.

44. For discussion of the political bias of the AAA program, see Myrdal, An American Dilemma, and C. Hardin, "The Bureau of Agricultural Economics Under Fire," Journal of Farm Economics, 28 (1946), pp. 635-668.

45. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty, p. 50. "Until the 1973 changes, whose effects are still unclear, the farm subsidies were costing the consumer about $10 billion a year, half in direct payments to farmers and half in crop limitations that had the effect of raising food prices an average of 15 per cent." Hapgood, The Screwing of the Average Man, p. 268.

46. Wayne C. Rohrer and L.H. Douglas, *The Agrarian Transition in America: Dualism and Change* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1969); Grant *McConnell The Decline of Agrarian Democracy* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1953), p. 106.

47. Under Soil Bank, a program reminiscent of the thirties, farmers were to be paid for what they did not produce as well as what they did. Through payments reached into the millions, significant repressions in output were not obtained since the least productive land was taken out of production and an increase in yields on land left in production was obtained by implementing new technology. *Ibid*.

48. Micha Gisser, "Needed Adjustments in the Labor Supply," *Journal of Farm Economics*, 49 (November, 1967), p. 806.

49. For documentation of the capitalization of technological change and commodity programs into land values, see W.L. Glisson, et al., *The Marginal Value of Flue-Cured Tobacco Allotments* (Va. Agr. Exp. Stat. Tech. Bul. 156, January, 1962); J.L. Hendrick, "Effects of the Price - Support Program for Peanuts on the Sale Value of Farms," *Journal of Farm Economics*, 44 (December, 1962), pp. 1749-1753; R. Herdt and W.W. Cochrane, "Farm Land Prices and Farm Technological Advance," *Journal of Farm Economics*, 48 pp. 243-264.

50. V.W. Ruttan, "Agricultural Policy in An Affluent Society," *Journal of Farm Economics*, 48 (December, 1966), p. 1107.

51. In 1973 some 1,296 Mississippi farmers were awarded assistance gifts of $596,011 for planting trees, for cutting trees and constructing ponds, and items increasing their property values. Some 15,470 acres controlled by "low-income farmers" received cost-shares of $680,405 in six counties in the Applachian section of Mississippi to "promote economic growth" and "increase income and raise standards of living" by paying 80% of the cost of developing "soil, water, forest, wildlife, recreational and scenic resources." Nearly $94 million dollars was shifted to circa 24,000 farmers in the form of cotton alottments for cotton which was not planted. Bolivar County, in which 44% of its 1970 families were poor and over one-half reported 1969 incomes below 125% of the threshold, saw a shift of about $8½ million to 1,414 "participating farms." The "wheat program" involved "set aside payments" totalling $59 million in Bolivar, $55 million in Coahoma, and $64 million in Tunica Counties (over 40% of the 1970 families in Coahoma and over one - half of the 1970 families in Tunica County reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level). Over $5 million was diverted to 46,229 farmers for "participating" in the "feed grain program."

    In addition to these programs, there were rice acreage alottments and marketing quotes, peanut allotments, servicing agreements for the "cropland adjustment program" to "help" farmers "divert" cropland (a long term program beginning in 1967 wherein 957 farms were "signed" to divert 33,694 acres, for which they were awarded $585,937).

An additional $11,085,811 was laid upon Mississippi farmers in 1973 as "price supports" for corn, grain, tung oil, and cotton. A somewhat smaller award ($13,799) was apportioned to 178 "providers earning payment" for "shorn wool and unshorn lamb payments". A total of 13 beekeepers were granted $60,432 in public funds as an "indemnity" for losses of honeybees as a result of the use of pesticides. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, USDA, ACSC Annual Report for 1973.

52. Ford, p. 50.

53. The New Deal agricultural policy insured that "the heavily capitalized, tax-subsidized enterprises of the future would view labor as a cost to be cut rather than a productive factor and "thus led America not toward productivity and purchasing power on the land, but toward waste and welfare in our cities." Donald H. Grubbs in The People's Land, p. 20.

54. For Jefferson, "agrarianism and private property were...the means to democracy. Land was the typical form of private property, and farming was the typical use of land." Bertrand and Corty, Rural Land Tenure in the United States, p. 214. Cf.: Joe R. Motheral, "The Family Farm and Three Traditions," Journal of Farm Economics, 33 (August, 1951) "Instead of baronial estates, let us facilitate the increase of independent homesteads," said Rep. William Holman in explaining the Homestead Act of 1862:

> Let us keep the plow in the hands of the owner. Every new home that is established, the independent possessor of which cultivates his own freehold, is establishing a new republic within the old, and adding a new and strong pillar to the edifice of the state.

Congressional Globe (1861-62), p. 1031, cited and Irving Mark, "The Homestead Ideal and Conservation of the Public Domain," Journal of Economics and Sociology, 22 (1963). p. 269, quoted in Land and Minority Enterprise, p. 5

55. Walter Goldschmidt, "A Tale of Two Towns," in The People's Land, pp. 171, 175.

56. Hightower points out that replacement of competition with cooperation and coordination will cause "agricultural efficiency to decline as market concentration enables food companies to pass on to consumers the cost of inefficiencies and excess profits." The added costs of concentration will be "rung up

on the consumer's tab at the checkout counter." He claims "packaging and advertising of food are becoming more important pricing factors than the food itself." Already "food corporations have become the biggest spenders on television advertising." Jim Hightower, "The Industrialization of Food," in The People's Land, pp. 80-85. As Hapgood has pointed out, the poor have been slugged by farm subsidies each time they sat themselves at a table. In keeping with the general policy of encouraging monopoly, the federal government in recent years has helped a few huge food companies gain control over agricultural markets that once were highly competitive. The resulting monopoly pricing of domestic food plus government subsidized export sales were the root causes of the abrupt rise in food prices in 1973-74. The subsidies (direct to farmers, which were limited by 1973 legislation) were no longer needed-it was possible to screw the consumer without them. Hapgood, The Screwing of the Average Man, p. 270.

57. Hightower notes that the technological revolution in agriculture, largely financed by tax payers through the land grant colleges, has produced an arsenal of genetically-tailored, mechanically-harvested, chemically-ripened, electronically sorted and mechanically-wrapped fruits and vegetables, assembly line poultry fattened on drugs, chemically-skinned catfish and a "vast array of other gadgetry of the technological fervor that has gripped American agriculture since Workd War II..., has been developed in the name of consumers and family farmers; it was in fact designed for and to the specifications of corporate agribusiness." Ibid., p. 83.

58. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South.

59. Vernon W. Ruttan, "Agricultural Policy in an Affluent Society," Journal of Farm Economics, 49 (December, 1966), p. 1116.

60. Dorothy Dickens, The Rural Family and Its Source of Income, (State College: MAES Bulletin 481); Herbert Hoover and John Crecink, Rural Nonfarm Families in the Clay Hills of Mississippi Incomes and Resouces (State College: MAES Bulletin 648, 1962). Carlton R. Sollie, Some Economic Characteristics of Tenure Types: A Progress Report of a Study of Land in Three North Mississippi Counties (Mississippi State University, Legal Institute for Agricultural and Resource Development, Progress Report No. 1, 1969), p. 4.

61. D.E. Alleger, "Retiring on a Small Farm," Sunshine State Agricultural Research Report (Gainsville: Florida AES, 1963); O. Dahlke and H. Stoneciper, "A Wartime Back-to-Land Movement of Old Age Groups," Rural Sociology, II (June, 1946), pp.148-152.

62. It is to easy to conclude from increased banking deposits, etc., that area economic development has across-the board benefits. Aside from the fact that a serious concern with poverty must

come to terms with inequities of distribution as well as "shoring" programs of grants, transfers, and service delivery, development programs should not be such as to have a primary benefit to activities which thrive on the increased circulation of money in an area (real estate, retail sales, etc.) and should not be counterproductive to the interests of the poor by 1) increasing their costs, 2) limiting their opportunity for access into activities, businesses, or occupations, and 3) leave them with only trickle down benefits. The kind of development which employs workers at wage-skill levels above the ability of potential local workers to utilize results in in-migration. Also, the achievement of so-called "economies of scale" in agriculture is the kind of "economic development" likely to cause the above changes.

63. It should be emphasized that in most cases this will be low wage industry. For a contrary opinion, see J.O. McKee, "The Utilization of Human Resources: A Spatial Analysis of Manufacturing Employment in Mississippi," Southern Quarterly, 13 (October, 1974). McKee, arguing that Mississippi is "low" in capital-intensive industires, contends that increase in the latter and in per capita income "has to be a major goal of Mississippi in the 1970s." pp. 18-20. Bender, et al, contend that once poverty becomes concentrated in a geographic area, the interaction of social and economic forces (intergenerational familial poverty, class-selective migration, and the productivity of social and economic institutions) contributes to "rural poverty ghettos," i.e., areas which can only attract low-wage labor-intensive industries and where people with low incomes and inadequate institutions accumulate. These conclusions, whose probative value is evidence contrary to the position taken in this analysis (and supportive of the position suggested by McKee) was based on Ozarks area data. L.D. Bender, et al, "The Process of Rural Poverty Growth in Rural Regions." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the advancement of science, Philadelphia, 1971.

64. Thomas E. Till, Rural Industrialization and Southern Rural Poverty in the 1960s: Patterns of Labor Demand in Southern Nonmetropolitan Markets and Their Impact on Rural Poverty, (austin: University of Texas, Center for Study of Human Resources, 1974); James L. Walker, Economic Development, Black Employment, and Black Migration in the Nonmetropolitan Deep South, (Austin: Universtiy of Texas, Center for the Study of Human Resources, 1974).

65. Bender, et al, in a study to determine if migration in the presence of industrialization contributed to the perpetuation of poverty of the native poor by absorbing potential jobs, concluded that in-migration is on interference in the process whereby area industrialization theoretically creates jobs for the indigenous rural poor. L.D. Bender, et al, "Trickle-down and Leakage in the War on Poverty," Growth and Change (Oct., 1971), pp. 34-41. Cf.: Irwin Gray, "Employment of a New In-

dustry in a Rural Area," Monthly Labor Review, 92 (June, 1969) pp. 26-30.

66. Richard Yukhin, Rural Industrialization and In-Migration: A Case Study of the Big Sandy Region. Austin: University of Texas, Center for Economic Development, 1970). The coming of industrial plants may create an expectancy of nonmigration rather than migration among novices emerging from high schools. Ibid. Gisser suggests that raising the level of education in rural-farm areas will stimulate out-migration and thereby promote economic adjsutment. Micha Gisser, "On Benefit-Cost Analysis of Investment in Schooling in Rural Farm Areas," Journal of Farm Economics, 50 (August, 1968), pp. 621-629. Cf.: R.E. Forman, "The Ideology of Mobility: Some Attitudinal Aspects of Migration." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1959.

67. Bultena, in a study of low income farm people employed in off-farm work, reported that farmers leaving agriculture in mid career did not appear to have greater adjustment problems than youth leaving farms. This was possibly a result of the fact that destination areas for this sample were not typically urban (74% had moved to places of less 10,000, and most respondents continued to live near friends and relatives). Gordon L. Bultena, "Career Mobility of Low-Income Farm Operators." Rural Sociology, 34 (December, 1969), pp. 563-569.

68. W.D. Diehl, "Farm-Non-Farm Migration in the Southeast," Journal of Farm Economics, 48 (February, 1966), pp. 1-11.

69. Niles M. Hansen and Richard Yukhin, "Locational Preferences and Opportunity Costs in a Lagging Region: A Study of High School Seniors in Eastern Kentucky." EDA Discussion Paper 17. Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1969.

70. Blacks have been under represented in skilled labor occupations. A serious concern with anti-poverty must think in terms of opening access to earning opportunities rather than in terms of restricted entrance in order to keep the renumeration high for those protected. Perhaps a rethinking is in order to all limits on entrance to construction employment and requirements for union certification. Coupled with increased entrance, an emphasis on decreasing the prices of goods and services across-the-board wherever possible would seem in order. In building, for example, if government sanctioned restrictions on entry into occupations were removed, this should lower the costs at which carpentry, plumbing, brick masonry, and other repair and building services could be performed, allow more people the opportunity to earn a productive livelihood, and permit more individuals to make repairs and improvements, thus providing an overall economic stimulation.

71. Piore has argued that job programs in the Mississippi Delta failed to train black workers for available and future expected jobs. Michael J. Piore, "Negro Workers in the Mississippi Delta: Problems of Displacement and Adjustment." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Industrial Relations Institute, Washington, 1967.

72. For a family calculating how to spend limited income, a lower cost is at least as effective as a larger income. If the costs are sufficiently low, the question of subsidation of the consumer by grant (for rent, for food, for housing, for education), which is really as much of a subsidation of the providing industry (which can continue its level of sales without reducing the costs to make its products viable without artificial support by selling at the subsidized price) as it is assistance to the poor, is completely eliminated, along with the regulations, administrative costs, and attendant problems. *If costs are subsidized, the industry is subsidized, and is insulated from incentive to effectuate cost reductions which would be necessary in the absence of the subsidation*.

73. Marshall notes that economists often ignore community benefits which are likely to be consequencies of successful community organization, such as political participation. He also observes that marginal firms are likely to do more than high wage, capital intensive enterprises to promote employment, even though the workers are likely to be low-wage by urban standards."

74. These effects and their implications are clearly delineated in Findley, *The Federal Farm Fable*.

75. Breimyer, "Changing American Farm," p. 22.

76. *Strategies of Change in the Rural South*, p. 277.

77. In general, tax regulations have worked to the competitive disadvantage of the traditional family farm. A self-financed human being "cannot compete with a 'tax loss' nonfarm investor who can absorb an operating loss in farming as a write-off from tax obligations in his other undertakings." Breimyer, "Changing American Farm," p. 199.

78. Goldschmidt, p. 175.

79. Peter Barnes, "Buying Back the Land," in *The People Land*, pp. 228-234, Cf.: L.G. Liguitti and John C. Rowe, *Rural Roads to Security: America's Third Struggle for Freedom* (Milwaukee, 1940), and Frank L. Owsley, "Pillars of Agrarianism," *American Review* (March, 1935), excerpted in Van Sickle, *Planning for the South*, pp. 80ff.

80. While "land price inflation yields a bonanza return to present owners," it "moves it out of the reach of...would-be farmers (or any other human beings) of modest means, and attracts speculative buyers and particularly those aided by tax shelter. And insofar as land is assessed for taxes at higher than its farming value, it is driven out of ownership by operating farmers (or would-be farmers)..." Breimyer, "Changing American Farm," p. 198.

81. Jefferson opined:

> Legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the natural affections of the human mind. The descent of property of every kind therefore... is a politic measure, and a practicable one. Another means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point, and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise.

82. Jim Hightower and Susan DeMarco, "The Land Grant College Complex," in The People's Land, p. 90. Hightower and DeMarco note that "If mechanization research has been a boom to agribusiness, it has been a bane to millions of rural Americans." They add that "There is nothing inevitable about agribusiness domination of agriculture." Ibid., pp. 92-95. To the extent that rural America today is not a place millions of additional Americans could live and work in dignity and production it is a product of ultimately political rather than inevitable decisions determined by the market. Rodale notes that "A continuation of present land-grant college actions and philosophy will insure that there is no alternative to the destructive course of U.S. Agriculture." Robert Rodale, "Organic Technology," in The People's Land, p. 99.

83. "At a time when poor Southerners are starting to earn a living growing labor intensive specialties like okra, tomatoes, sweet potatoes and cucumbers...USDA is developing strains of the same vegetables which can be harvested mechanically." Nick Kotz, "The Poor People's Co-ops," in The People's Land, p. 206.

84. Reduced cost technology refers to the development of machinery which is marketed at less cost and thus can be more reasonably available to purchasers without the requisite of extensive volume sales and capitalization. The branch experiment stations might well serve as rental centers for more expensive equipment among small scale farmers and gardeners by renting equipment to them at daily costs which would allow the advantages of technology to be utilized on acreages which are not large enough to allow individual investment in expensive equipment.

85. Such equipment as mechanical cotton pickers is not envisioned. But the rental of small tractors, bush hogs, cultivators, etc. suitable for small scale activity would seem desirable. In addition, the operation of small scale assistance equipment (such as bean shellers, canning facilities) for a nominal price for the use of gardeners and small farmers (as done by some Community Action Agencies) would seem to be a legitimate enterprise for the cooperative extension enterprise.

86. C.E. Bishop, "The Urbanization of Rural America: Implications for Agricultural Economics," Journal of Farm Economics, 49 (December, 1967), p. 1006.

87. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 279.

CHAPTER 15

SYNOPSIS AND PLANNING MODELS

Statistical vs Experiential Poverty

It is necessary that those who seek to shape or direct anti-poverty programs strive at the outset for a clear, precise answer to the questions of 1) what is poverty, 2) who and where are the poor, and 3) what are their descriptive characteristics. If the planner is to locate those target groups who are in need and plan programs to eradicate conditions under which poverty is produced and thrives, such answers must be primarily statistical.

However, the truth is that statistics, correlations, and tables of cross-calssification of the poor and their distribution can only delineate the bare perimeters of poverty. To look at the poor as numerical categories scarcely brings into comprehension the fact that each figure represents a human entity for whom the sensations of poverty are a daily experience of "deprivation and hopelessness, of hunger and despair, of filth and disease and personal humiliation, of physical misery and hopeless anger."[1]

The vignettes following are not meant to deny any literaturistic or emotional values that might be derived from the familial or individual strength of those millions of Americans for whom poverty and deprivation of life circumstances has been an arena of challenge which they have met with valor -- whites of limited inheritance, blacks carrying the burden of generations of limited opportunity -- a list that is graphically emotional and endless, containing many episodes of an heroic consistency which allowed some partial or total escape from poverty for their offspring if not for themselves, and many trapped in a vicious circle of struggle and victimization wherein they had no choice but to hand down a legacy of poverty that was self-perpetuating. As the following examples illustrate, poverty is a reality whose experiential dimensions are scarcely circumscribed by statistics alone.[2]

> The hand-to-mouth feeling of having no money for tomorrow.
>
> The smell of wood smoke that hangs over Southern shanty-towns, symptomatic of scant heat and pinch-gut rations.
>
> A condition of being in which one's past and future meet in the present as static, limited, and irredeemably expendible.
>
> Small children crowded into tiny rooms with no

> heat and sharp winter wind cutting through
> cracked glass.
>
> Victimization by vandals and everybody who
> issues credit.
>
> Rutted roads, sour-smelling tenement blocks
> filled with pervasive odors and dampness.
>
> "...walking down long, hot, dusty rows of that
> wild summertime and somehow making a song of awful
> toil..."[3]

The "psychological poor" who may suffer as keenly as those below because they have so little hope of ever enjoying what the rest of society routinely enjoys.

> "His dream, like yours and mine, was only this:
> ...that someone
> Some far where had work enough for two."[4]

Deprivation as a permanent, even hereditary way of life as opposed to temporary exclusion from good things in one's society.

> "...trapped by circumstance of poverty...wallpaper
> peelin' down, linoleum cracked, and a tin-roof
> leakin' on a saggin' gray house...the torture
> of babies comin' after passing forty and digging
> steep acres of potatoes in the hot-dusk sun of
> fields we couldn't even buy."[5]

The point is not to deny that amounts of poverty are self-determined and sometimes self-inflicted (an obvious example being reflected in activities in the maternity ward wherein there is a pattern of reproductive behavior which breeds and ensures poverty), nor to deny persons a choice of a poverty life style wherein it is not the responsibility of the collective to intervene. It is to point out, however, that for those who suffer the deprivations of poverty the condition of being poor with all the concomitants and accoutrements of that status have a reality which statistics and correlations are inadequate to convey.

Relative vs Absolute Poverty

Poverty is both relative and absolute in character. Inability to buy food, clothing, shelter, education, medical attention to a level where the most elemental needs of the family are met may be considered the absolute aspect of poverty. The relative aspect accrues from the fact that every product and every service is largely socially determined; it is easier to be poor if all in one's family, community, or circle of friends are also poor. In such a country as the United States where communication is highly developed, and poverty usually includes automotive vehicles, television, access to a school system providing basic educational potential, and myriad social "services" from agencies which exhort themselves to seek out clientel as beneficiaries, it is harder for the individual to take comfort in mutual poverty.[6]

Objective vs Subjective Poverty

Similarly, poverty is both an objective (the absolute aspect) and subjective (the relative aspect) phenomenon. Regardless of its statistical measurement, poverty can and often does have a depressive and spirit corroding effect on individuals and families. Orcutt observes that poverty level families may be locked into a generationally perpetuated destructive life style, possibly characterized by poor tolerance of frustration, weak controls on impulses of rage or sexual attainment, and self-defeating inter-familial relationships with parents functioning as siblings who are prone to accute crises in their own lives, posing special problems for growing children.[7]

Diversity of the Poor

Barringer has observed that "those who are poor have proven to be far more heterogenous and far more widely distributed than policy makers have given them credit for." Just as there is no "typical" American, there is no "typical" poor American.[8]

Persons in poverty fall into many mutually exclusive categories and are victims of a variety of circumstances. Poverty includes persons of all ages, races, and phases of the life cycle. Nevertheless, the frequency of the incidence of poverty is much greater among certain demographic categories. The aged, members of fatherless families, those with low formal education attainment, members of larger families, are categories which demonstrate a greater than average incidence of poverty in contrast to members of small families, male headed families, or members whose head has attained higher levels of formal education. Within each category, however, there are many who are not poor, while many of the poor do live in male headed families, small families, and families which have not been educationally deprived. Furthermore, many of the demographic traits associated with poverty tend to appear in clusters, and are mutually reinforcing.

Poverty is a Distributional Problem

American poverty is probably historically unique in that given American productivity "poverty is purely distributional, and not a matter of overall income or the productivity of the economy."[9] We have the paradox of alleged hunger (and decline in food consumption resulting from recent price escalations)[10] combined with policies to limit food production in order to maintain high prices which in turn are combined with minimum-wage laws which force numbers of the unskilled, marginally productive into unemployment.

Poverty in the United States is not an inevitable consequence of an industrial system that is unable to produce sufficient goods to cover needs. In other words, the basic problem is not so much in solving problems of production, but in making a more equitable distribution. At the bottom of this economic inadequacy is the sharply unequal distribution of income and wealth.[11] Hunger is not due to the inability of American society to produce sufficient food. While some degree of joblessness may well be due to an inability of the.economy to generate sufficient employment at wages which all would like to receive, joblessness is not improved by policies which limit production or employability.

However, this does not mean that poverty is a matter wherein a prosperous but penurious society can simply transfer to the poor an amount which will ipso presto make them nonpoor. The delusion that the poverty gap could be closed by an appropriation equal to it ignores the human dynamic. If direct payments equalized payments for the poor, many low wage earners would leave the work force since for them the income floor would be a ceiling that would result in massive withdrawals by those working at lower-paid unpleasant jobs who would recognize no monetary gain from continued work. Furthermore, the cost of closing any income gap through unconditional payments would always cost far more than 100% of the deficit.[12]

THEORIES OF POVERTY ETIOLOGY

As a background to strategic decisions, it is useful to categorize the causes of poverty in today's economy. Assessment of the causes of poverty is influential on the kind of ameliorative recommendations which are thought appropriate.[13] Anti-poverty efforts, whether preventive or pallative, are ultimately based on decisions as to the casual factors in poverty and of the characteristics of the poor. Social scientists and policy makers concerned with poverty have long sought to articulate their efforts into theories of poverty both as an intellectual problem and as motivation for action.[14] This section seeks to review some of the ways that casual explanations of poverty are categorized. It is important to recognize that these theoretical explanations are not mutually exclusive.

Folklore Theories

Some of the popular notions about poverty can be properly assigned to folklore. Among these are the follwoing sometimes explanations of the existence of poverty:

1. Society needs the threat of poverty to induce work and sobriety in the lower classes.[15]

2. All the well-to-do are rich only because others are poor and/or exploited.[16]

3. If none were poor, unpleasant jobs would not be be done so that there is an intentional conspiracy to keep some persons poor.[17]

4. The "middle-class" has a psycholgical need to exclude a minority from above poverty living standards.

Whatever exceptions may exist wherein there are well-to-do persons who obtained their position at the expense of the less fortunate or where there has been economic exploitation of an individual or group,[18] it would be more hallucinogenic than accurate to regard these monocasual explanations as comprehensive descriptive theories of poverty.[19]

Events Beyond Individual Control

One cannot look at the data on who are poor without sensing that many are poor because of events beyond their control. These include:

1. Chance assignment to poor parents.

2. Membership in an oversize family.

3. Affliction with disability or illness.

4. Premature death of family breadwinner.

5. Declining demand for services in one's occupation, industry, or place of residence.

6. Outliving of one's savings.

7. Economic consequences of the political problem of inflation.[20]

8. Financially disastrous medical needs.

9. Sequestration from opportunity for productive enterprise.[21]

For many persons who are otherwise "normal" poverty may be said to arise out of one or a combination of such happenings. This is why it is important for anti-poverty efforts to be of both a pallative (meeting of immediate needs) and preventive (keeping the poverty status from arisings) variety.

"Case" Theory of Poverty

"Case" theory of poverty means that however general poverty may be or how concentrated it may be among categories of persons, it is viewed as the result of processes that occur individual by individual, i.e., poverty is seen as the result of individual misfortunes and deficiencies rather than the result of general social trends and phenomena.

Tussig has pointed out that a "welfare program that is not a 'welfare program'"is not inconsistent with a "case" theory of poverty as an extension of individual private provision for calamities as long as it does not recognize conferral of benefits on the non-needy as "welfare." The poor people's welfare programs, he feels, tend to be demeaning, with public recognition that the taxpayer-recipient relationship is improper:

> They are used in an inter-governmental competition to repel the poor population; they impose disincentives to ambition, thrift, and family stability... the division of most social policy into "regular" programs maintained for the nonpoor, and "special" programs for the poor, has the effect of separating ...the interests of the poor from those of the working class, to the disadvantage of all...The prinicpal gainers from this misdirected version of the class struggle are, of course, the rich themselves.[22]

Culture of Poverty Theory

This theory holds that poverty is sustained by a life style common to most poor people. The poverty subculture, from this perspective, is a disorganized, pathological culture in the anthropolotical sense which is self-generating in that it perpetuates the cultural patterns of the group as well as the individual pschosocial inadequecies of its members which hinder assent from poverty.

The actual conditions of low income life are such that the distinctive "culture of poverty" which provides the poor with a design for living is determined by the structural conditions within which the existence of the poor takes place. The "culture of poverty" life style is composed of a set of behavioral norms which are conducive to matriarchal patterns of child rearing, apathy, defeatism, compensatory copulation, excessive concern with ostensible masculintiy among males, hopelessness, reliance on fate and chance, absence of ingrained patterns of deferred gratification or futurism, all of which "enable the poor to live without reflection upon filth and violence in their environment, and provide the basis for accepting deviant and criminal modes of making a living as proper."[23]

These attitudes and norms coalesce into a comprehensive framework for understanding life and coping with miserable conditions. This frame of reference is a social heridity that is self-perpetuating and is intergenerationally transferred. The highly integrated network of attitudes, behavioral norms, and social patterns insure the longitudinal carryover of a culture (commonly accepted ways of acting and thinking) which facilitates survival at the same time it tends to be self-perpetuating.[24]

Structurally Mandated Poverty

Although the behavior patterns characteristic of the culture of poverty are the functional repsonses necessary to cope with external conditions, the culture of poverty concept sees the poor as a deviant group. However, to the extent that poverty is structurally mandated, focus on the characteristics and personal inadequacies of the poor will contribute little to the solution of the problem. To the extent that poverty is structurally mandated, it can be removed only by basic changes in the economic and political system.[25]

In this view, the poor are an externally oppressed subsociety whose culturally transmitted pathologies have their etiology in the denial of resources to the poor. Since the disadvantaged position of the poor is primarily due to the behavior of the higher strata who prevent the redistribution of resources, elimination of poverty requires revolutionary accession to power by representatives of the poor and consequent radical alteration of the whole society and redistribution of resources.[26]

During the 1960s, as the "new left quickly realized that the assumptions of New Deal liberalism interpreted by...liberals of the 1960s were in conflict with the full scale attack on racism and poverty which the new left advocated,"[27] the theory of "corporate liberalism" emerged as a key paradigm for the analysis of American institutions.[28] This theory holds that supposedly "liberal" changes in social policy have in fact been orchestrated by business monopoly in its own interest.

> ...it provided the groundwork for a critique of Kennedy-Johnson policies on poverty and race which emphasized the essentially manipulative and cooperative intent behind those policies.[29] In short, it justified the profound moral outrage of the American new left because it suggested that conscious policies rather than an impersonal system were responsible for the defects of society.[30]

"Income Strategy" vs "Services Strategy"

Valentine states that the 1960s were characterized by debate between "proponents of the 'services strategy' and those who favored 'income strategies' in the 'war against poverty.'" Barringer observes:

> "Poverty is a matter of goods and services. Neither an "income" nor a "service" strategy is adequate by itself...only a strategy that delivers both goods and services can give poor people the means to conquer their poverty. Delivery of both means not only designing "delivery systems" and making programs available, but also ensuring that the poor have access to them and that they are in fact responsive to the needs of the poor themselves.[31]

Barringer feels that perhaps the best approach is to implement programs which are needed by the entire population, and by the poor especially. As Barringer points out regarding services to which the private market is not currently adaptive -- health care, police protection, consumer protection -- "To deliver them to all is to remove the stigma attaching to services delivered exclusively to the poor and so to make such services more accessible to all the poor."[32]

Barringer feels that the question of "how one prevents programs designed for everybody from becoming responsive only to those who already have the wealth..." and insure that programs delivering services to everyone remain responsive to the needs of the poor is to build "access mechanisms into the institutions that deliver these services, and in fostering competition, wherever possible, among public, private, and non-profit deliverers of services."

> ...access mechanisms must be established to allow consumers of services to voice their requirements and grievances effectively, and organizational mechanisms established to encourage them to voice these in a concerted fashion. In the public sector...this suggests introduction of the "consumer advocate" concept...such an office would provide a point of access for dissatisfied consumers of the service...[33]

Barringer adds that "it is worth suggesting...that both the public and private means of delivering services have become concentrated to a degree that demands a conscious governmental policy of promoting competition among various possible delivery systems and mechanisms...it is unlikely, for example, that the public education system in virtually every city and surburban town would do anything but benefit from competing directly with alternative systems for limited, fixed sources of financial support."[34]

Inclusiveness vs Sequestration

The principle of inclusiveness[35] provides a general guide by which those programs which are undertaken by government should be structured wherever possible. As Bird and McCoy point out in their study of rural poverty in America, "the needed new program emphasis should be toward unified efforts that provide continuing opportunities for all citizens rather than further polarization and fragmentation of special groups."[36] The principle of inclusiveness challenges those programs justified in terms of diffuse support to the needy but which in fact accomplish a redistribution of resources away from the lower middle, working, and poverty classes toward the non-needy.[37]

When public benefits are provided (whether these are of a social service nature, sanitary or recreational facilities, public institutions such as schools or hospitals), in general, the best results can be obtained when maximal opportunity for access is available among the entire community. It is least provided when the general services are largely captured by a select group, or the effort to counterbalance this maldistribution results in special selection of representatives from the disequalized strata as opposed to generally open access.

Perhaps the most direct way that citizens can signal government of the appropriateness, desirability, and necessity of services is by what they would select in an arena of maximum choice. This determination, in terms of education for example, would be what educational programs would be chosen at an enabling level by persons seeking education.[38] Rather than the creation of privileged positions (perhaps by the limited opportunities for entry) though limitations[39] on access, it would seek to maximize access. In support of higher education, for example, making of tuition expenditures (at least to the average amount of cost to attend a state university) a tax credit item would have a direct enabling effect on those who needed and/or desired higher education completely free from invidious choices. It would probably be the most straightforward form of assistance that could be taken with respect to allowing the citizen to take advantage of educational opportunities. Colberg has observed:[40]

> The new emphasis on the general idea of combatting poverty is more appropriate than of aiding particular industries (agriculture) or regions (Area Redevelopment). When aid is not given on a personal basis much of it is certain to go to those who do not need it (large federal payments to wealthy farmers are prime examples). However, a federally sponsored anti-poverty program would hold more promise if it were not accompanied by countervailing efforts to raise the federal minimum wage, to maintain high agricultural prices, to

> restore "fair trading," to encourage unionization of labor, and to minimize the power of local government units which are best able to determine who are actually the poor.

Structural Reform vs Increased Volume

Few subjects are more emotionally charged than how public policy should be used to influence the distribution of income. For many years a major alteration sought in the welfare system has been one of increasing the "adequacy" of benefit levels. This effort has been successful in accomplishing the redistribution of more and more resources to the poor. However, with a resultant larger and more complex welfare system the cost of transferring each billion dollars redistributed becomes more difficult to finance, and a smaller part of each additional billion can be feasibly transferred. Consequently, Browing feels, efforts to improve the welfare system should now be directed toward structural reform rather than to increase the volume of redistribution. The need is to substantially improve the well being of the poor without the destructive by-product of increased tax costs. Reform is urgent, he says, not because of inadequate benefit levels, but because of the inequities, high administrative costs, and distortions that characterize the present system.[41]

Browning says that "for all practical purposes, poverty has been actually eliminated in the United States" although "the rapid growth of in-kind programs and the failure of the Census Bureau to include them as income has obscured this achievement."[41] Federal cash transfers per poor person increased from $249 in 1966 to $482 in 1973 while federal in-kind transfers per poor person escalated from $112 to $657 during this time. Between 1966 and 1974 total social spending grew from $88 billion to over $242 billion.[42] Total payments under various kinds of public income maintenance programs now exceed $15 billion a month.

One of the current problems is that many "reform" proposals would compound the errors of the past. Present confusion and dissatisfaction, says Swoap, "is being used, in many cases, to advance even further liberalizations and extensions to achieve the advocate's primary goal: an even greater measure of income transfer, an even greater proportion of the GNP that is directed to government spending and individual benefit programs." This, he states

> is not what most persons seek when they say they want welfare reform...With a historic sense of compassion for the needy, they ask that the system be reformed to ensure that aid go in sufficient amounts only to those persons entitled by need to receive it...that eligibility tests be constructed so that need may not be artificial or manipulated, that benefits be adequate and decent, but not duplicative, that work requirements be enforced for the physically able,

> not simply paid lip service; that outside resources be taken into account and relied upon wherever possible; that sufficient precision characterize the system that errors are avoided to the greatest possible extent; that persons responsible in the last analysis for the needy person -- whether it be the person himself or his parent (or progeny) -- be required to meet his responsibility to the best of his ability; that the system be operated within the limits of public resources and not in such a fashion as to call into question the very ability of the economy to survive.

Browing feels that a simplified welfare system is necessary if it is to be understood well enough to make informed judgements on distributional matters. "When the system cannot easily be understood, effective control will gravitate to the 'experts,' that is, the bureaucracy..."[43] Swoap suggests that what is needed is a streamlining of the system to one that can be reasonably understood.

Rule Change vs Transitional Equity

Hochman has pointed out that "too often the professional analyst, in seeking a remedy for inefficiency or injustice, rests public policy discussion on simplified comparisons of the actual and the ideal. The costs of transition from the actual state to ideal are de-emphasized."

> There is little argument about compensating owners for private property taken through condemnation...But it is often unclear whether these are the only rights infringed. Destruction of familiar neighborhoods is itself costly, and many of the social difficulties of such programs derive from their effects on the intangible human capital of residents who are not property owners. The ethnic or racial characteristics of these residents may, moreover, be well-defined. Can it be said then that they are not identifiable and that the rule change...affects the terms of the transactions rather than the rights of specific individuals?... the fact the transaction may render compensation uneconomic has no bearing on the ethical issue at stake.[44]

The fact is that "on-going societies cannot often correct unfair outcomes without creating collateral harms. Indeed, one can go further and argue that the interim effects of well-intentioned change are important not only because transitional fairness is a matter of serious normative concern but also because they may substantially alter the final outcome of the change.[45]

Cultural vs Structural Interpretation

How much poverty exists because of the "culture of poverty" and how much is structurally mandated is an unsettled if not indeterminable question. Both the structural view and the "culture of poverty" perspective see the special characteristics of the poor as arising from the fact that they are poor. The ameliorative steps which are thought most urgent or applicable to some extent depend on the view which one takes toward the etiology of poverty.

For cultural theorists, the critical problem is to interrupt the cycle of poverty by directly attacking the values and behavior that support it. They feel that unless such a specific attack is undertaken to remotivate the poor to compete effectively in the job market through training in job skills and inculculation of appropriate attitudinal requirements, the poverty syndrome will continue in self-generating fashion. Specific policy requirements include a broad range of social services designed to resocialize the poor to behavioral and attitudinal patterns that foster social mobility. Focus is on the individual.

Structural theorists, on the other hand, assume that structural change in the employment, education, health, and housing markets is requisite. The structural solution is the more radical since it demands changes in social organization. Focus is on the social structure as the casuative agent. Since the poverty syndrome consists of reactions to structural conditions, elimination of poverty requires the elimination of the structural conditions which cause the behavioral and attitudunal manifestations associated with poverty. In practice, of course, ameliorative approaches are often combined with the effort being made where possible to bring about change to make the structure more responsive to the poor while at the same time attempting to inculculate those skills which will enable the poor to compete with less impediments to social mobility.

Local vs Extra-territorial Initiative and Responsibility

In recent years a considerable amount of flotsam has been spread regarding local autonomy and initiation of social service programs. This has sometimes been referred to as the "new federalism" and, among other things, incorporates both "revenue sharing"[47] and local community action type developments. While the latter are often held to be examples of local action, it is, perhaps, somewhat ironical that by-and-large the initiative is extra-territorial and may frequently represent an overriding of State hegemony wherein the federal government mobilizes demand for, provides organizational skills for, and largely funds the implementation of goals that are extra-territorially sponsored.[48]

Lacking effective control of these "local" programs, the role of the local public's repository of sovereignty (the State) is essentially negative and reactive, and its interests may be overwhelmed by the volume of carroting which it must come up against. The extensiveness of the stake of non-profit agency entrepreneuring through extra-territorially acquired funds and the ability of the provider agency of the federal government to stake mobilization within a local community may effectively neutralize the possibility of effective opposition by local officials.

Without question such programs have resulted in many changes desired by their proponents in the social, political, and economic realm and in the structure of public policy decision making. In this sense they have, perhaps, created a new form of "grass roots" political mobilization which has a distinct advantage against any potential opposition of generalized or more discreet community feeling. Also, they have been instrumental in the delivery of a number of social services which have had direct benefits to the individual disadvantaged. Some of these benefits are probably seen in the provision of meals and activities for the aged, in the provision of specialized entities for providing assistance to the developmentally disabled, in mental health facilities, and other public developments which may not have taken place to the degree which they have in the absence of federal compulsions and enticements.[49] It might also be argued that federally funded agitative and advocacy activities have brought needed and desirable structural changes. Furthermore, specific federal legislation, such as Truth-in-Lending and the Fair Credit Reporting Act clearly represent long overdue consumer protection developments.[50]

Regardless of the form which the mobilizing of extra-territorial projected developments take (i.e., such as local "non-profit" entities), they sometimes may not be truly local in any sense of ultimate responsibility and accounting. They may provide a local situs for obtives and developments which have an extra-territorial impetus. It is the extra-territorial agency which provides the technical assistance, guidelines, and approval of programmatic implementation within the local arena. In this sense, they are not reflective of local initiative and they can hardly be regarded as ultimately locally responsible. They do serve as a local situs for implementation of objectives which probably could not be provided through existing structures.

It may be that the lack of local accountability contributes to some degree of sloppiness in funding proposals and may contribute to a tendency to reference data with the implication the proposed program is addressed to the parameters of the facts, assertions, or impressions cited as the justification or evidence of the need for the program. It may be that a lack of local accountability, and the lack of review except by favorably disposed persons and/or entities, fosters the writing of program proposals without having to meet more elemental rules of logical consistnecy or responsibility for assertions made and conclusions drawn.[51]

The extra-territorial funding of programs, whatever their merit otherwise, does not place a premium on local responsibility. To some extent, the greater the degree of responsibility and accountability demanded, the less the pay-off to the entities whose funding is extra-territorial. Consequently, local officials may be ready to bite on anything that promises to pull funds into a community as being a needed and worthwhile activity.[52]

Berger and Neuhaus have recommended the use of more personal mechanisms such as neighborhood groups and voluntary organizations, to deliver welfare services.[53] They describe family, church, neighborhoods and voluntary associations as "meditating structures" between an individual's private life and the large public institutions which they describe as "megastructures".

Berger and Neuhaus see meditating structures as a solution to the dilemma of wanting more government "social services" but more locally oriented sensitivity. They feel their approach, whose theme is enablement or empowerment on the "belief that human beings, whoever they are, understand their own needs better than anyone else," differs from simple decentralization which works only with governmental structures and also differs from devolution which would dismantle the welfare state or at least reduce it to reasonably accountable size.[54]

The American Enterprise Institute has opened a New York office, under the general direction of Berger and Neuhaus, to investigate service delivery through "meditating structures". "Berger and Neuhaus concede that the proposal, which basically relies on community participation...was tried most dramatically in the Community Action Program. However, Community Action's flaw was that existing community groups were deprived of potency and were turned into governmental dependents."[5 Berger and Neuhaus observe that social welfare services were historically provided by churches. However, a combination of licensing, certification, and tax policies have had a "chilling effect" on church group involvement in public policy issues. Berger and Neuhaus recognize that mediating structures are susceptible to "cooptation" by the government, but feel this known risk is outweighed by the benefits of enabling local entities and community responsible groups to deliver social services in their own communities.[56]

Evaluation and Implementation

One of the difficulties in the early days of the "War on Poverty" has been stated by Dye as "The Office of Economic Opportunity was always the scene of great confusion. New and untried programs were organized at breakneck speed."[57] Irrespective of the validity of this observation, there is little question but that any recommendations should be carefully evaluated by legislators[58] before being implemented. Plans need to be carefully evaluated in terms of their overall impact as well as for possible unintended consequences.[59]

A careful consideration of the overall effect of any contemplated plan is a necessity for wise decision making. As Dye has observed, today's "welfare dilemma is the product of more than thirty years of rational planning...initially presented to the nation as rational approaches to the problems of the poor. Yet none of these programs has succeeded in eliminating poverty...all these programs have produced serious unanticipated consequences. Welfare rolls continue to rise...assistance does not get to many Americans who deserve it. It is frequently accepted with bitterness by those who were intended to benefit from it."[60]

The important point is that implementation of plans needs to be based on a careful consideration of their entire range of effect since the "unanticipated consequences" may be counter productive but, like the egg which cannot be unscrambled, may prove particularly difficult to deal with. Prescriptions and forecasting of the effect of a course of implementation is largely structured by the philosophical underpinnings of the perspective from which a situation is viewed. Consequently, it is especially important than the externalities of a program be given careful and accurate analysis.

This difficulty is further compounded when a system becomes almost incomprehensible.[61] For example, as Browning points out, the federal House of Representatives passed a version of the Family Assistance Plan which would have unintentionally imposed marginal tax rates above 100 percent on millions of people, illustrating dramatically how "misunderstanding the system can have extreme unintended consequences."[62] Pilot programs prior to launching massive attacks are often advisable.[63]

STEPS TOWARD AMELIORATION

The final part of this chapter presents three analytical models for the analysis and interpretation of the data compiled in this study for the use of action agencies. This section seeks to highlight some questions that may be of particular salience regarding legislative steps and directions which may be taken to improve the quality of life in Mississippi as part of a comprehensive anti-poverty policy.

Policies Relating To Migration

Free and unrestricted movement has long been part of the heritage of the American people. Migration is the classic way by which populations respond to area differentials in economic opportunity. There is a generally consistent finding that black migrants from the rural South do at least as well in terms of income and employment as blacks with similar characteristics who are native to the North. The willingness of rural blacks to accept positions which do not provide the income, status, or dignity sufficient to interest unemployed urban natives seems to be a factor.[64]

The frequent but casually journalistic imputation of urban problems to rural migration has been questioned if not outrightly refuted by empirical research.[65] To whatever extent population decline or outmovement can be regarded as a "loss" from a purely economic or a "quality of life" perspective it would seem to be a quid pro quo for receiving areas. To the extent that migration relieves areas of outmovement and results in benefits to outmigrants it should be encouraged in the sense of providing the individual with the best training or educational possible in order for him to make effective use of his talents and ambitions.[66] Employment information linkage should be such as to provide information to State residents with information on viable employment possibilities throughout the county.[67] Several observers have suggested developments, such as provision of information about job opportunities, as an encouragement to out-migration from economically depressed areas.[68]

Princeton's Edwin Mills has pointed out that few people

> resist the notion that whites have migrated to cities because income, employment, shopping, cultural, educational, and social opportunities are better there than in the small towns and rural towns and rural areas from which they have come. Yet people who see how badly blacks live in the ghettos of large central cities find it hard to believe that blacks have urbanized for much the same reasons. Nevertheless, the evidence is overwhelming that discrepancies between urban and rural life are greater for blacks than for whites and that blacks have greatly improved their economic and political life by urbanization.
>
> Throughout the postwar period, family incomes of blacks in metropolitan areas have been about twice as high as those of blacks living elsewhere. The corresponding discrepancy for whites has been between 25 and 50 percent. In 1968, after a quarter century of rapid migration to metropolitan areas, urban black family incomes were still 70 percent higher there than those of blacks elsewhere. Poverty statistics tell an even more dramatic story. In 1959, 78 percent of blacks living outside metropolitan areas, and 43 percent of those in metropolitan areas, were below the official poverty line. By 1968, the figures were 55 percent and 27 percent. Not only is the incidence of poverty among blacks much lower in metropolitan areas than elsewhere, but also poverty among blacks has decreased

much more rapidly in metropolitan areas.

> Housing statistics tell a similar story in 1960, 77 percent of blacks living outside metropolitan areas, and 43 percent of those in metropolitan areas, lived in substandard housing. By 1968, the figures were 55 percent and 16 percent. Again, conditions are better and progress has been faster in metropolitan areas than elsewhere.[69]

Hansen has suggested that government programs designed to deal with the economic problems of lagging areas are generally ineffective because they have been more concerned with "place" problems than with human resource development. He is critical of the report of the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty (1968) in its approach to, and solutions for, the problems of the rural poor, migration, and depressed area development. The Commission took the position that solution of the problems of the rural poor does not not require a large volume of out-migration. The Commission advocated location of industry in lagging areas. Hansen counters that U. S. efforts have not brought about changes in regional income differentials nor have they increased the attractiveness of small towns and lagging areas for growth industries. He feels that it is undesirable to seek to attract industry to lagging areas to provide jobs for the unemployed there since most growth industries need facilities available only in fairly large cities. Hansen advocates the feasibility of encouraging labor mobility rather than rural industrialization efforts.[70]

Selective Placement Programs

The State might well give attention to selective placement programs to assist the handicapped in employment within State government. Such a program could be modeled after the selective placement programs which the Federal Civil Service Commission uses to help the handicapped obtain employment with that government. The State might have at least one coordinator for selective placement with specific responsibility for assuring that qualified handicapped applicants receive full consideration for employment.[71]

Equitable Taxation

Taxation equity is a matter that Mississippi, as well as the nation, needs to give serious consideration.[72] Estimated total expenditures for State government in Mississippi during fiscal 1976 accounted for nearly 18% of the personal income of Mississippi's citizenry, compared to about 14% for all Southern States. Mississippi spends a 20% larger percentage of personal income on education and 60% higher percentage on transportation than other Southern States.

Mississippians pay more State taxes per capita than do citizens of any surrounding State. Mississippi is spending an estimated $682 per person for State government (outlays from State and federal funds) compared to $660 for other Southern States. Beginning teacher salaries in Mississippi exceed those of surrounding States as do salaries for certain clerical positions, social service workers, accountants, highway patrolmen, planners, and engineers.[73]

It would be difficult to overstate the destructive potential of taxation. Government has a voracious appetite. The more "services" government can provide, the more it escalates. Few indeed are the individuals or entities (whether governmental or otherwise) who do not cultivate the receipt of government benefits to the outer limits of public credulity.[74]

Doomsday tree

Source: Mississippi News (Washington Co.), April 15, 1977, p. 6.

Possibly no part of the American tax system evokes more controversy than the property tax.[75] Comments on the subject frequently begin by taking note of this fact in connection with the "remarkable unwillingness of the public to do away with so flawed a tax."[76]

> The American property tax abounds in anomalies. During the past century, no major fiscal institution, here or abroad, has been criticized at such length and with such vigor; yet no major fiscal institution has changed so little in modern times...The demise of the property tax

> as a major factor in the American fiscal scene has long been heralded; yet it continues to finance more than one-fifth of the civilian general expenditures of federal, state, and local governments.[77]

One limitation to the property tax is its regressitivity, i.e., the supposed tendency of the proportion of income paid out in property taxes declines as income rises.[78] There have been waves of criticism associated with the property tax. Netzer lists these as a "savage across-the-board attacks in the late nineteenth century; a somewhat more moderate tone and a quest for ways to make the institution work more effectively in the 1920s; renewed broadsides in the 1930s; and what can be best described as a 'new complacency' regarding the property tax in the last decade."[79] Jensen, with respect to the earlier criticisms, stated,

> If any tax could have been eliminated by adverse criticism, the general property tax should have been eliminated long ago. One searches in vain for one of its friends to defend it intelligently. It is even difficult to find anyone who has given it careful study who can subsequently speak of its failure in temperate language...Should some prosecuting attorney drag the tax as a culprit before a bar of justice, he would be embarrassed by the abundance of expert evidence against it. No writer of repute writing on state and local taxation in the United States has failed to offer his bit of derogatory testimony.[80]

Among those aspects of the property tax which may make it a special irritant are the following features which have been alleged to be characteristic of the property tax.

1. No other major tax in our public finance system bears down so harshly on low-income households, or is so capriciously related to the flow of cash into the household.[81]

2. When compared to the preferential treatment accorded outlays for shelter under both the income and sales taxes, the property tax stands out clearly as an anti-housing levy. Moreover, as the tax increases steadily, it is a threat to homeownership.[82]

3. Unlike income and sales taxes, the property tax imposes a levy on unrealized capital gains. Undoubtedly, many property owners do not share the view held by some economists that this constitutes

an acceptable method for measuring ability to pay taxes.

4. The administration of the property tax is far more difficult than is the case with either the income or sales tax. At best, the property tax assessment is based on an informed estimate of the market value of the property. The subjective judgement of market value seems all the more arbitrary during times of inflation and in jurisdictions experiencing rapid changes in property values.[83]

5. The dramatic increase in taxes and the resultant taxpayer shock that often follows in the wake of an infrequent mass reappraisal has no parallel in the administration of the income or sales tax. As inflation pushes property values up, the assessment hikes become more pronounced and the taxpayer shocks become more severe.[84]

6. The property tax is more painful to pay than the "pay as you go" income and sales taxes.

7. The property tax has been cited by both political leaders and tax scholars as the most wretchedly administered tax.

Some features of land taxation comprise a problematic thicket. For many of these problems the most straighforward and just resolution is probably attained by keeping property taxes uniformly low.[86] Some pro and con arguments are rather general and specious; others, perhaps, have some specific merit. A detailed analysis of these arguments, or of Mississippi's taxation structure, or recommendation for overall improvement of this structure, will not be attempted. However, one overriding feature should be noted, namely, the need for a mechanism to insure accountability by local officials in making property assessment increases, and a means for challenging their validity, for small landowners. Perhaps a maximum amount of property, i.e., say 60 or so acres, should be exempt in rural areas,[87] with reasonably progressive rates thereafter on parcel size (or ownership entity size, with adequate protection against pseudo divestation) would be a desirable feature for Mississippi real estate taxation policy.

Reasonable and fair assessment of real estate property should not be locally difficult. Sale prices of property automatically provide a minimum current evaluation. Most non-urban or non-industrial property can probably be reasonably and fairly evaluated with minimal difficulty.

Mississippi citizens do need a visible, practical, and workable system for holding local assessors responsible for increases in small parcels of non-business property in nonurbanizing areas if their assessment is raised. Owners should be entitled to a viewing of the work sheets by which the assessment was made and the factors relating to the specific property resulting in an increase.[88]

There is a tendency for tax policy to provide selective and discriminatory benefits for those that have the better things of society. All too frequently, so-called "reforms" extract severe penalties from those who labor to provide more decent and convenient stations in life rather than limiting the excess benefits of the more privileged. Property taxes can be a major cause of injustice, as can nonprogressive taxes of other forms.

There are some desirable features of Mississippi tax structure. For example, sales taxes provide a higher proportion of state revenue as compared with property taxes than is the case in some states. Sales taxes have the advantage of taxing actual consumption. Mississippi should carefully avoid a multiplicity of "circuit breaker" type tax exemptions to try to circumvent the overload of taxes which government imposes. In an inflationary era, increased personal exemptions, as well as tax credits for educational expenditures and perhaps various basic living expenses would seem to be in order.It may be well,at the same time, to eliminate tax deductions for entertainment, club memberships, and other spurious type "business" expenses.

Industrial Development

To recommend industrial development, high wage industry, or increased job opportunities are visible and easily echoed steps. However, to specify exactly what industries, from where or by what method obtained, or how to obtain them is more difficult. Nor is such a task the objective of this report. However, it should be noted that the factors of 1) low per capita income and 2) low industrialization or an absence of capital intensive high wage industrial base does not mean that acquisition of the latter will be a curative in the sense of benefitting the low income population. For example, a high wage industrial development may import workers, leaving little benefit (and perhaps increasing the opportunity costs) to persons not positioned to benefit from escalations in property values and living costs. While low wage plants would, by definition, pay low wages, there seems to be considerable merit to the argument that economically depressed areas, if they must have industrial development at all, would benefit most from industrial development which can utilize the labor force available[89] and which inflicts as little in-migration as possible.[90]

Furthermore, while "industrial development" is a highly visible supposed prima facie economic improvement variable, communities seeking industry might be well advised that "industry alone will not solve all their problems, in fact, it may create new ones."[91]

Rural America, and particularly the South, is likely to receive industrial diffusion whether it wants ir or not as part of a current metropolitan decline and inter-regional job shift[92] that encompasses diverse human concerns. Among the reasons which have been given include:

1) Developments such as air-conditioning and interstate highways which have opened regional areas in the South to industry.

2) The dynamic character of Americans, free to achieve a quality of life they associate with open spaces and movement from crowded, regulated, pesty and intrusive urban centers.

3) The "legal climate" consisting of legislative acts, court interpretations, environmental requirements, local ordinances[93] and similar matters.[94]

4) Physical or geographical-geological characteristics as easily accessible energy in Southern petroleum states and a superior climate which offers energy saving to various sort of industrial activities.[95]

Till[96] notes that "the importance of the 'second owner effect' in raising families from poverty even when wages are low, and the desire of some rural residents to remain where they are, makes very questionable the quick dismissal of rural industry as cheap, runaway firms, essentially exploitative and hence implicitly worthless from a welfare point of view."

Internal Circulation of Resources

Exponents of economic development in Mississippi have recommended that the State should do more to process its own raw products and should seek to attract higher grade industry.[97] Henry Grady, reporting on a funeral he attended in Pickens County Georgia in 1889, observed:

> They cut through solid marble to make his grave, and yet a little tombstone they put above him was from Vermont. They buried him in the heart of a pine forest, and yet the pine coffin was from Cincinatti. They buried him within touch of an iron mine, and yet the nails in his coffin and the iron in the shovel that dug his grave were imported from Pittsburg. They buried him by the side of the best grazing country on the earth and yet the wool in the coffin bonds and the coffin bonds themselves were brought from the North. They buried him in a New York coat and a Boston pair of shoes and a pair of britches from Chicago and a shirt from Cincinatti. The South didn't furnish a thing on earth for that

funeral but the corpse and the hole in the ground.

Till[98] notes that such a generalization can no longer be considered characteristic of the South as the region has urbanized and industrialized. However, the internal circulation of resources, particularly in the sense of in-state production for in-state consumption at lower costs (to consumers) would seem to be eminently desirable. Any "Buy in Mississippi" campaign can be given substance only to whatever extent Mississippi businesses can provide products at lower costs than they can be provided by out-of-State producers. Underselling would both provide the impetus for sales in Mississippi plus providing the maximum contribution to consumers and the nation as a whole in a time of galloping and seemingly almost inherent price increases in everything imaginable which is required for maintaining a decent existence in terms of today's levels-of-living. Any "Buy in Mississippi" sloganeering is wasted verbiage except to whatever extent Mississippi businesses can fulfill the desirable adage for any economic system of providing the best for the most at the least cost.

Reduced cost technology and reduced prices for consumer goods are urgent contemporary needs. While the factual reality is something of an antimony in which there is a residue of truth, we are nevertheless seeing severe strains placed on the social system to maintain equilibrium and meet its functional necessity of integration[99] because education, job training, etc., have over-trained, over-educated, and over-qualified the population for the job slots available.[100] To this extent, commonly voiced faiths of economic development and self-improvement such as the above might be placed in more reasonable perspective. There is, however, an overarching and unsurfeited need for price reductions.[101]

Source: Mississippi News (Washington County), April 15, 1977.

Perhaps the processing of in-state products for in-state consumption at lower costs than obtainable otherwise would be the most desirable economic tack that State entities, such as land grant colleges or other research and development entities, could follow. If, for example, it should be found that Mississippi imported 2 x 4 pine studs from the West Coast while sending our own lumber production to the northeast it would seem that internal processing could reduce costs substantially.[102] Vitamin fortified foods, produced and marketed at less cost than now faced by consumers, would seem to be appropriate, as would other areas of industry and enterprise.[103]

Locality Enablement

There is a strong tradition in America of local self-help through community development and voluntary associations. These traditions should probably be restored and encouraged. Devine feels that

> ...the promises of the welfare state have not been realized and, indeed, its costs have been immense. Not only have hundreds of billions of dollars in national wealth been squandered which could have been used for constructive social purposes, but there have been staggering social costs as well. Hundreds of thousands of youth have been made unemployed or underemployed through minimum wage and related employment laws; millions of children are taught values their parents object to and thousands of children are transported out of their neighborhoods, while the poorer support the better-off to obtain more income and higher education. At the same time, almost everyone is forced to pay more dearly for medical and hospital care in the name of medical care for all while, at the cost of tens of billions of dollars, housing programs have resulted in less and more costly housing for the poor. In addition, even food and clothing essentials have been made more difficult to obtain for those most in need as a direct and indirect result of government regulation, while everyone's savings have been ravaged by inflation.[103]

Devine feels that there is an alternative to the national welfare state "which is close to responsible control and to the individuality of personal problems, called local government." Other strategists, of course, challenge the doctrine that problems can be best dealt with at the local level.

There are problems which are difficult if not impossible to solve at State and local levels.[105] Many of these have likely been exacerbated by federal welfare state policies. Devine feels that except for "irrational national planning"

> ...local government can perform any domestic government function that the national state can and, if there are many governments, it even can allow for much greater flexibility. Thus, congenial environment only seems meaningful locally, companionship is necessarily face-to-face and even safety is mostly local.

Devine feels that the "national government, of course, would be needed for national defense and might also provide disaster aid to state and local governments; and states would be needed to resolve conflicts between communities; but it seems that variety of local governments could handle all other governmental functions and do so with maximum liberty and justice for all. Indeed, it may be possible to recreate the vitality and inventiveness Tocqueville found in American local government before their form ossified under the late nineteenth century centralization."[106]

He adds that "beneficial as revitalized local government could be, a commitment to liberty and justice would probably lead one to prefer the use of true associations." 107 Devine feels that the basic problem restricting the potential working of the voluntary sector is that it is

> hampered by an incredible maze of government imposed administrative requirements. In too many cases government simply has taken over successful voluntary sector activities and has suffocated them with bureaucracy. The greatest problem, however, is that the welfare state ideology views voluntary action as quaint and intrinisically weak; and, therefore, national leaders using media and political forums degrade this sector as perhaps of marginal importance but certainly not viable like the national government. Yet,...national elites have not recently duplicated national voluntary efforts in the past like the Red Cross, scouting, Better Housing Bureaus, mutual insurance companies, cooperatives, humane societies, educational institutions, hospitals etc., most of which were founded before the welfare state ideology became predominant in this century.

Among its other attributes, the welfare state may be said to take substantial funds away from individuals which they could otherwise spend on private welfare activities.[108] It might be desirable to allow deductions of 100 percent of new contributions made to welfare activities up to the degree of national or State government involvement in welfare broadly defined. For example, if the State government spent 70% of its budget on educational and other social service activities, individuals could be allowed to deduct up to 70% of what they paid as taxes for what they contributed to associations or individuals for altruistic purposes.

Devine contends that the great hostility he has found to this proposal among advocates of the welfare state raises the question of "whether the issue is an inadequacy of funds or...one of power," and that "the fundamental issue of welfare policy does not seem to be whether the needy are to be aided but how they are to be aided." He feels that "groups and local governments are at least as capable of providing solutions for the welfare problems which face society and which must be attended to if a society is to consider itself humane...the voluntary approach allows problems to be solved without injury and with a diversity and freedom which is sensitive to the uniqueness, complexity and dignity of personal individuality."[109]

Employment Policy

There is probably little if anything that the State can do with respect to employment policy other than attempting to maintain as enabling an environment as possible to the development of entities which make employment possible. Unemployment in the future may well be reduced without government doing anything about it. As stated by an editorialist in Farm Journal,[110] "The extremely high birthrate just after World War II has upset our social planning at every stage. Isn't it a bit much to expect our economy to absorb these millions of new workers at the same time women are looking for work in unprecedented numbers? Whatever programs are adopted, unemployment probably will come down about when it would have if it had done nothing."[111] Ultimately, employment depends on business activity which generates jobs.[112]

The period following World War II through 1957 was a time of high birth rates. More than four million infants were presented during that binge. Over the last five years, the birth rate has dropped steadily to the lowest point in history. This has occurred even though the number of women susceptible to child-bearing has been rising much faster than the population as a whole.

Demographic variables have major impacts. For example, "Some school systems are worrying about what they are going to do with empty classrooms...while educators and students are principally aware that opportunities are no longer what they used to be in education, as many as 130,000 underemployed young teachers who can't find jobs in the schools are exercising a drag of their own in the economy." This factor, coupled with the killer impact of inflation on older people and striving families, raises serious question about the wisdom of a governmental application of any inflationary "stimulation" of the economy.[113] State policy can have a definite effect on welfare rolls and employability.[114]

Energy Policy

The Western technology which created oil utilizing machinery (and processing equipment) which brought a prosperity to eastern kingdoms for exceeding the returns they could have obtained through the limited world market for camel dung fertilizer and hair brushes provided the cause of a reverse affliction for these same nations when the OPEC Kingdoms decided to impose unprecedented increases in the tribute exacted from their benefactors. 1973, for the West, was the initiating period of a heretofore unprecedented tenor of economic sorrows--inflation combined with depression.[115]

Unemployment, fears of scarcity, and heretofore unknown prices[116] had a shocking impact.[117] Energy prices[118] provided the fulcrum for an overall economic downturn (of various descriptions from a "sideways waffling" to a depression-recession) which, by whatever euphemism, had a devastating impact on the aspirations of Americans.[119] The ramification as of today is that "Many fear they can no longer hope for higher living standards, in spite of hard work and careful management,'Getting Ahead'...seems to be turning into a mirage."[120]

THE WORKING MAN'S DILEMMA

"... MEANWHILE, BACK ON THE HOME FRONT ..."

Source: U. S. News and World Report, (May 2, 1977), p. 50.

The. U.S. News observes,

"For many families, economic survival has necessitated dual wage earners within working class families. Even then, common Americans may still be faced with a loss of purchasing power because that income is subject to higher-bracket federal-tax rates. More of it also gets hit by the Social Security tax. And State and local levies, especially the property tax on homes, are taking a bigger bite.

Meanwhile, middle-income families, particularly those making more than the median of $16,000 a year, see millions of others getting benefits for which they themselves cannot qualify -- federal tax breaks for low-income families; federal subsidies that make it easier to buy a home; scholarships that cover much or all of the back-breaking cost of sending the kids (children) to college;unemployment benefits and food stamps that often are 70 or 80 per cent of a skilled worker's pay for 40 hours of work; special exemptions that shield the low-income elderly from the property-tax load, and generous pensions for public service that make it easier to retire from government than from private industry.

At the top of the income ladder...many people are in a position to take advantage of loopholes to the Federal Government.

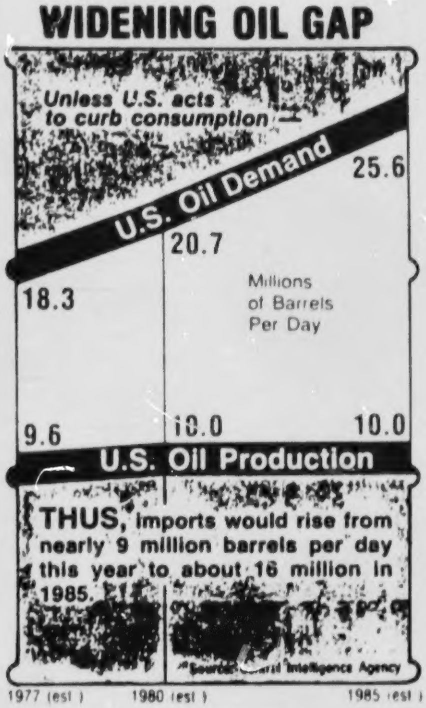
The upshot is that middle-class Amercians feel that they are paying the taxes for the privileges of both the poor and the wealthy. Their ire has turned against government bodies - from county boards and city councils to the U. S. Congress -- which seem to pay much less attention to the problems of the middle class than to those of other groups."[121]

The energy issue is at the heart of the contemporary crisis.[122] Governor James Rhodes put the problem succinctly in his observation, "We're at the end of the road we know as America."[123] McCormack has pointed out that the percentage of petroleum which the United States imports has increased from about 35% at the time of the Arab embargo to about 43% today, more railroads have gone out of business, and, in several States, the economy is threatened by campaigns to prevent nuclear energy development. The latter, along with coal, may be the nation's only hope for energy self-sufficiency, economic stability, and national stability during this century.[124]

McCormack writes that "We Americans have an unfortunate habit of treating some of our problems as if we are living in a 30 minute TV drama. We have come to expect quick, easy, pleasant solutions."

> A national energy policy must allow a large segment of our people to continue to aspire to -- and strive for -- a higher standard of living and greater freedom and dignity for all. This has always been the hallmark of American society and we can not expect low-and-modest income Americans to sacrifice such aspirations just because we suddenly do not produce enough energy to

provide employment. Understanding the nature of the energy crisis and what our response to it must be is a matter of supreme importance, for our nation truly is in mortal danger. Our national security and the stability of our economic system -- and even the freedom of our political institutions -- may well depend on our ability to develop responsible energy policies...125



Source: U. S. News & World Report, May 2, 1977.

The idea that energy problems can be solved simply by cutting back on energy consumption is a fallacious one. Total energy consumption must continue to rise as far as we can see into the future even if extraordinarily successful spartan conservation programs are established. Electric energy generation needs to be doubled by 1990. Failure to overcome the paralysis that seems to grip us concerning the reality of the energy shortage and a successful program to eliminate waste and conserve energy wherever practical and to produce the energy that we need in the future will have an inevitable result of economic, societal, and political catastrophe.

Energy, like employment and housing cost issues are items over which a State may be able to exercise comparatively little influence. One argument, and one which is mot without some legitimacy, is the need for price incentives to increase energy supplies. There is also the question of unprecedented profit taking at a time of severe crises: Lerza and Shuster observe,

> Producers simply label this as the economics of of free enterprise, but some describe it otherwise. "In a word, it's called 'greed,' says Ellen Bergman, director of the Energy Task Force of the Consumer Federation of America (CFA). "The producers don't want to sell unless they can get top dollar for it. They forget that there's a national need and this is a national commodity. They forget there are jobs at stake and that there is a committment to public good when you have a commodity that the whole nation needs. It is absolutely outrageous to leave it up to the producers when you have a monopoly industry."

At the State level, incentives to conservation would seem to be in order. Tax rebates for better gas mileage vehicles might be appropriate, along with incentives for weatherization of houses and businesses. It might would be possible to introduce some steps leading toward more equitable pricing policies by energy suppliers.[126] It might would be well if power companies subject to civil regulation by the Public Service Commission be required to make appeals to the Supreme Court. Furthermore, it might be desirable that current rate schedules be modified so was to provide lower rates for lesser amounts of energy used, with the rates structured so that unit prices are adjusted upward with increased use.[127]

Nader has pointed out that for years utilities have "discouraged needed conservation efforts by charging residential customers more than industrial customers. It has been estimated that residential consumers use 26% of electricity generated but provide 37% of large utilities revenues, while large industrial users use 35% but pay only 23% of revenues."[128] A California Public Utilities Commissioner has observed that selling energy at volume discounts -- the more you buy the less you pay -- "may be a fine system selling doughnuts, but it does not make sense for the scarcest commodity we have. Large users should pay a premium for using up our dwindling supplies of oil and natural gas. Basic residential service should be available at a price the ordinary citizen can afford."[129]

The tremendous beating[130] that Americans have taken on energy prices since 1973 and the unprecedented profit taking of suppliers has led to increasing calls for controls by government.[131] Skousen has pointed out that

> Government has never been inclined to sit idly by and watch the unwelcome effects of its policies take hold. Instead, it seeks to deal with shortages, black markets, quality deterioration, distortions, and queues of angry consumers by extending even further its arm of authority. It imposes rationing,

> restricts exports, institutes strong penalties against quality reductions and other hidden evasion methods, reduces shortages by generously subsidizing specific markets, and so forth. All of these additional measures have been taken from time to time to plug the gaps created by price controls. Eventually, the controls program becomes so pervasive that a democratic country finds itself under complete socialistic rule.[132]

Educational Opportunity

All Mississippians should have the opportunity to pursue technical practical, academic, and other educational opportunities to the maximum limit of their interest, initiative, ability, aptitude, and determination. Accomplishment of this objective requires 1) provision of facilities, and 2) means of access. Although there has been much talk of the relevance of education, it is important that educational opportunities be relevant to the interest and aptitudes of persons who desire to be educated in a particular area or enterprise. This means that the provision of education must be balanced in terms of what consumers seek in terms of opportunities for entry.[133]

The legislature might well consider whether the opportunities for entry into various areas of enterprise are balanced in terms of the actual desire to enter into occupational areas. For example, if a major in, say marketing, is available at, say, five or so universities, while nursing is available in say, only two or three, or entry into other medical programs (doctoral or otherwise) is limited by comparison, it may be that what is provided in terms of educational access is funneling students into an area which they would not choose in a free arena. That a relatively higher percentage of students may graduate in certain fields because these are available, while desired areas of enterprise are not available, is hardly a plus mark for the educational system.

Schiff has observed that while "it is possible to run an industrial economy without psychologists, sociologists, and philosophy majors, it is not possible to run it without tool-and-die men, plumbers, and crews who can operate drilling rigs and string high tension wires." He further notes that while circa 30% of the American population was enrolled in school--nursery through college--less than one-half of one percent of this figure was enrolled in a labor apprenticeship program.[134] Banfield state that

> ....People who claim to know about statistics say that only 15% of the kids (persons) in college are capable ...of getting what used to be thought of as an education...people at the bottom of the heap, the ones that constitute to themselves and to the rest of society the most recalcitrant social problems, are

> not going to get onto the mobility escalator, education...we haven't figured out how to do it. Since it is such a big item in local government expenditure, it might be a place to spend a lot of attention.

Facilities should be provided and encouraged for the training of all applicants who wish to go into a vocational area to be able to do so assuming a desire and reasonable ability to compete in the studies necessary to achieve competence in the activity.[136] In this sense, the State should provide sufficient facilities to educate as many State residents (of any age, any income level) as there are residents who wish to be educated in any area.

Artificial Credentialing

Artificial credentialing is a frequently adopted method of blocking entry into an occupational arena. There is a strong temptation for vocational areas to attempt to enhance the image of their vocation[137] (frequently associated with the effort to convince the public that this vocational category should have the accouterments, deferences or privileges of recognized professions) by increasing the requirements for entry. The State should carefully guard against being a party to the imposition of artificial credentialing and educational barriers to block entry into vocational areas.[138]

Relevant educational requirements rather than extraneous requirements are also in order. Vocational schools which train individuals to accomplish the tasks of the vocation to be learned are to be encouraged, particularly where such schools are associated with the vocation itself rather than an extraneous educational provider. Hospital schools of nursing are a case in point. Extraneous educational requirements, such as social science type subjects, should not be imposed on individuals who seek entry into occupational areas. Those who wish to study, sociology, for example, should be free to do so if their own interest and personal predilections should incline them toward this discipline. However, those who wish to be, say, nurses, should not have such extraneous requirements imposed upon them in order to get into a vocational area. A particular provider, however, should certainly have the right to impose whatever requirements it desires upon those persons in its own program.

The State should encourage the development of private and public, i.e., junior college and non-educationally affiliated providers (such as hospital schools of nursing) of vocational training. No competent or interested person (competent to perform in that profession, not necessarily to meet irrelevant and extraneous educational requirements) should be turned away from some kind of opportunity to learn professional or trade skills.

Development of work-step opportunities for advancement in vocational areas could be pursued in order to assist individuals in advancing beyond revolving door jobs. According to Topol, within New York City the position of nurse's aid has changed from a dead end hospital orderly job "which had no dignity and which no ...welfare person would accept" to a vocation with "opportunities to go now from nurse's aid to licensed practical nurse to actually registered nurse on the job."[139]

Neighborhood Amenities

Neighborhood amenities refer to important influences on the character of a habitat such as reactional, sanitary, and protective facilities which are usually collectively provided for a neighborhood. A common complaint in many low-income areas is inadequate police protection. Poor neighborhoods are likely to be areas of the highest incidence of crime.[140] Although there are no readily available statewide indices of police protection among neighborhoods, various area studies have shown the matter of crime, victimization, and inadequate protection to be a major concern of residents of low-income neighborhoods. Although improvement in the efficiency of police protection is not often on the planning agenda as a method by which the quality of life in low income areas can be improved, the factor of crime prevention and police protection is frequently a major concern of inhabitants of low-income areas. It is suggested that this topic is one which in terms of its importance and concern to the poor does merit the consideration of legislators, planners, and other public officials in ways that are as immediate as possible in providing official protection from vandalism, theft, and other criminal activities.[141]

Provision of adequate recreational facilities, and sufficient official protection for them to be utilized, is particularly important for low-income children since they have greater difficulty in going elsewhere to find amenities if they are not available in the area.[142] There is evidence that other public facilities such as museums and the like are disportionately utilized by the poor. Head Start Programs should seek to be an effective medium for acquainting pupils and parents with the range and availability of facilities which are provided by the collective society but whose use tends to be concentrated among limited segments of the population.

Retirement Plans

The creation of vested transferrable retirement plans should be encouraged. A program encouraging employers to participate in some form of vested retirement plan for employees should be considered. Such a plan should 1) be vested in the individual, 2) represent an actuarially legitimate program of investment rather than a generational transfer, 3) cover the occupations not currently covered by employee pension programs, 4) be transferrable among occupations by following the individual rather than the position, 5) be structured so as not to work a penalty on employees changing jobs or on employers hiring persons at the upper end of the life cycle. The formation and oversight of such a program may well be an appropriate State legislative function by providing incentive and/or enabling legislation at the State level.

Minimum Wage Legislation

The assumption that the contrived intervention of minimum wage legislation has direct or residual benefits to the poor rests more on faith than on fact. One of the most pervasive artificial limitations to effective anti-poverty policy consists of notions which get written into public policy which hurt the very people in whose name such policies were ostensibly and/or initially undertaken. Shenfield's observation that "social planners often appear to be less concerned in making the poor better-off than in making society conform more closely to their own ideas of social morality [143] is too often true. The unfortunate result is that even what is taken to be the most forward and progressive of social science incantations may result in the perpetuation of collective myths which attain almost sacred quality but which represent counter productive incrementalism.[144]

Minimum wage legislation is perhaps one of those devices which arise by the desire of social planners to remove from society those evils which outrage their sensibilities or which appear on the surface to be ameliorative but which cannot be justified by any insight into the problems of poor people's lives.[145] Most studies show a direct relationship between upward changes in legislated minimum wages and decreased employment among those most vulnerable to being artificially priced out of the labor market, particularly young persons of minority group memberships.[146] Naylor and Clotfelter, noting that "wage rates artificially inflated either through minimum wage laws or through union contracts serve as a deterrent to industrial development in the South", recommend that "minimum wage laws should, therefore, be abolished on both the federal and state levels."[147] In addition to the impediment which minimum wage laws have presented to the general industrial development of the South, they have specifically hurt the poor by reducing employment opportunities, and by raising the costs of consumer goods, perhaps the worst and most severe form of exploitation of the poor and low income families.[148]

DATA UTILIZATION AND POLICY FORMULATION

Analytical Planning Models

As a means of assisting action agencies in the identification and interpretation of basic data in terms of the role of particular action agencies and what the facts mean with respect to agency resources, Sollie[149] et al, have developed a dual model for the analysis of poverty data in terms of a symptoms-focused and a cause-focused model. The basic procedure involved is reduction of complex terms to less abstract terms which can be used at different levels, i.e., from concrete action programs to abstract theoretical orientations, in the identification and interpretation of data. The authors point out that for the great majority of action agencies at the local level, a focus on symptoms is usually appropriate. However, these agencies need to be aware that a symptoms focus aims for the alleviation of certain undesirable aspects of a particular problem and not the solution of the problem itself.

An action agency, viewing poverty from the causal perspective, might ascertain that a major cause of lack of adequate income is the absence of a saleable skill (Figure 1). On the basis of this determination the agency might focus its remedial efforts on programs to provide work skills or to expand the supply of employment opportunities. Another agency, viewing family poverty from the symptoms perspective (Figure 2), might determine that its most significant impact could be made in relation to health, in which their attention might be directed toward enabling improved hygenic, dietary, or health care utilization practices.

In causal model 1, two direct causes of family poverty are suggested along with subsequent levels of sufficient causes of the direct causes. Cause level two lists causes once removed from the direct cause. A reaonsable statement deducted from this model might be: Family poverty is fostered by the inefficient use of family resources, which in turn may be the product of a lack of knowledge, understanding, and/or motivation, which may reflect an inadequate education. Agencies seeking to focus on the causative factors promotive of the immediate cause and its alleged direct result of family poverty might be lead to focus on provison of appropriate knowledge, understanding, and motivation through aedequate education, communication, and socialization.

Figure 3 suggests some remedial efforts which might be addressed to poverty symptoms. For instance, where inadequate housing is a symptom of poverty, legislators, planners, and action agencies might wish to focus attention on alleviating remedies by turning attention to legislation, programs, or steps which would move in the direction of increasing available units or reducing rental, purchase, or repair costs. Where the focus is on employment, remedial policies directed toward underemployment, unemployment, or welfare competition for employment, through steps aimed at increasing opportunity and incentive, would seem to be called for.

The actual implementation of remedies, whether these range from benign neglect to active intervention, is an issue to be resolved through the broader political process of determining public policy. Included within the principles to be resolved through the realm of ideas and debate over the methods by which social problems can and/or should be solved is the issue of the degree to which government can eliminate poverty, neutralize racism, prevent crime, restore cities, and so on if particular policies are adopted, plus recognition of the actual limiations of policy.[150]

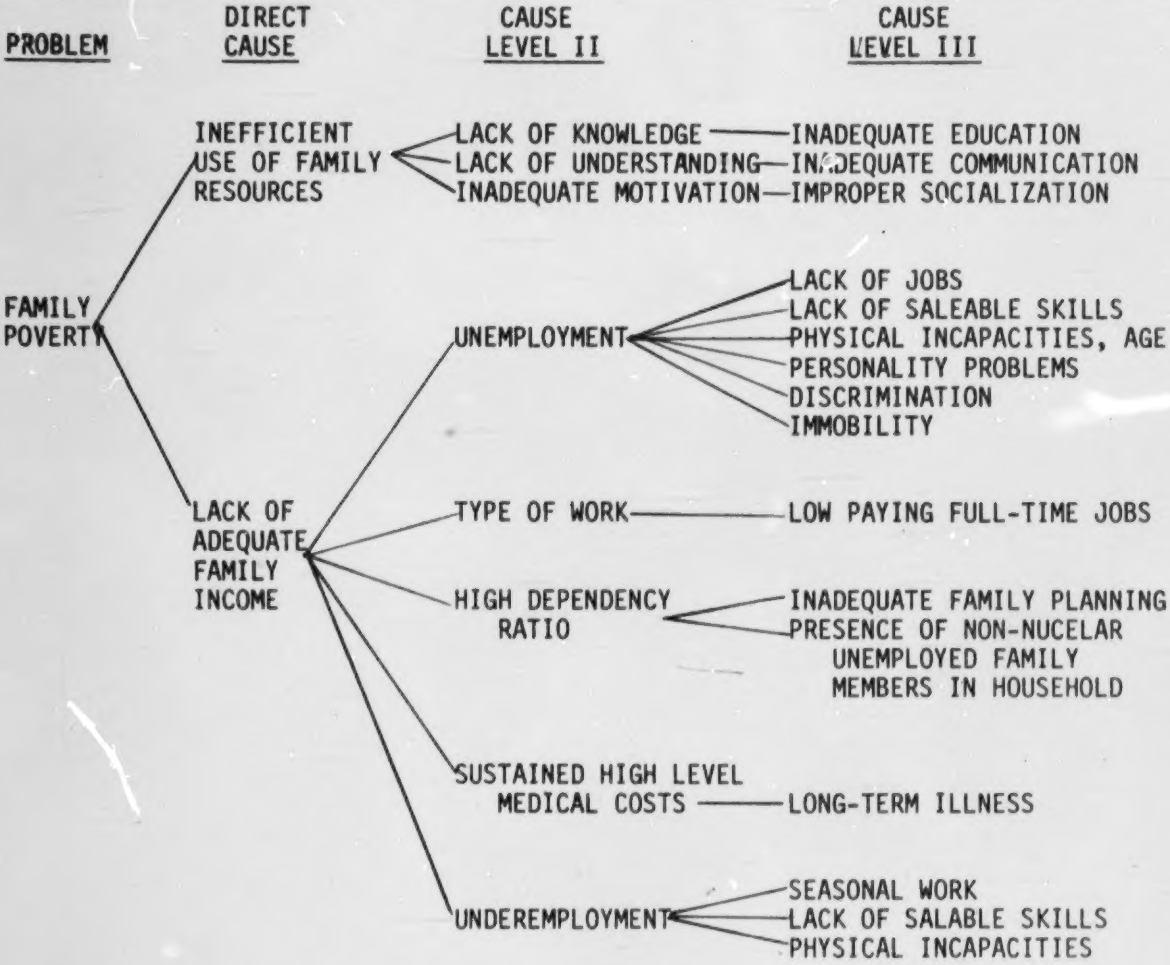


FIGURE 1: A MODEL FOR ANALYSIS OF POVERTY WITH THE FOCUS ON CAUSES.

Source: C. R. Sollie, *et al*, *Changes in Quality of Life in Mississippi: 1960-1970* (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin 824, 1975), p. 14.

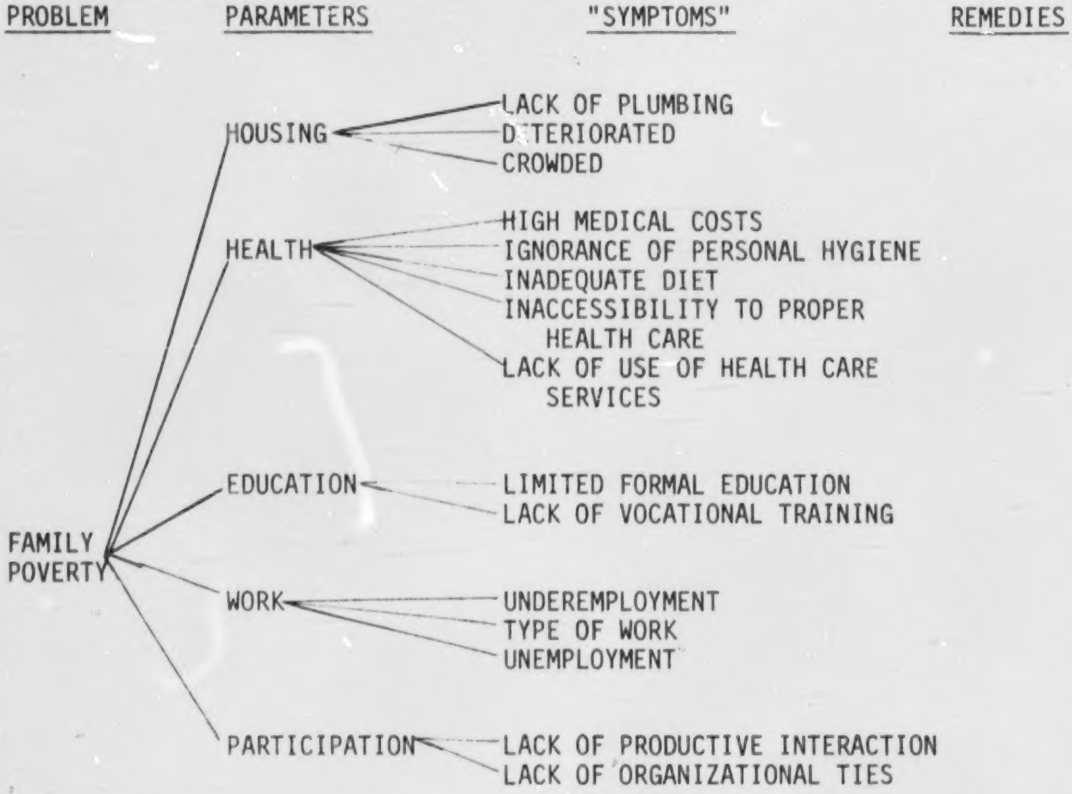


FIGURE 2. A MODEL FOR ANALYSIS OF POVERTY WITH THE FOCUS ON SYMPTOMS.

Source: Adapted from Sollie, Changes in Quality of Life in Mississippi.

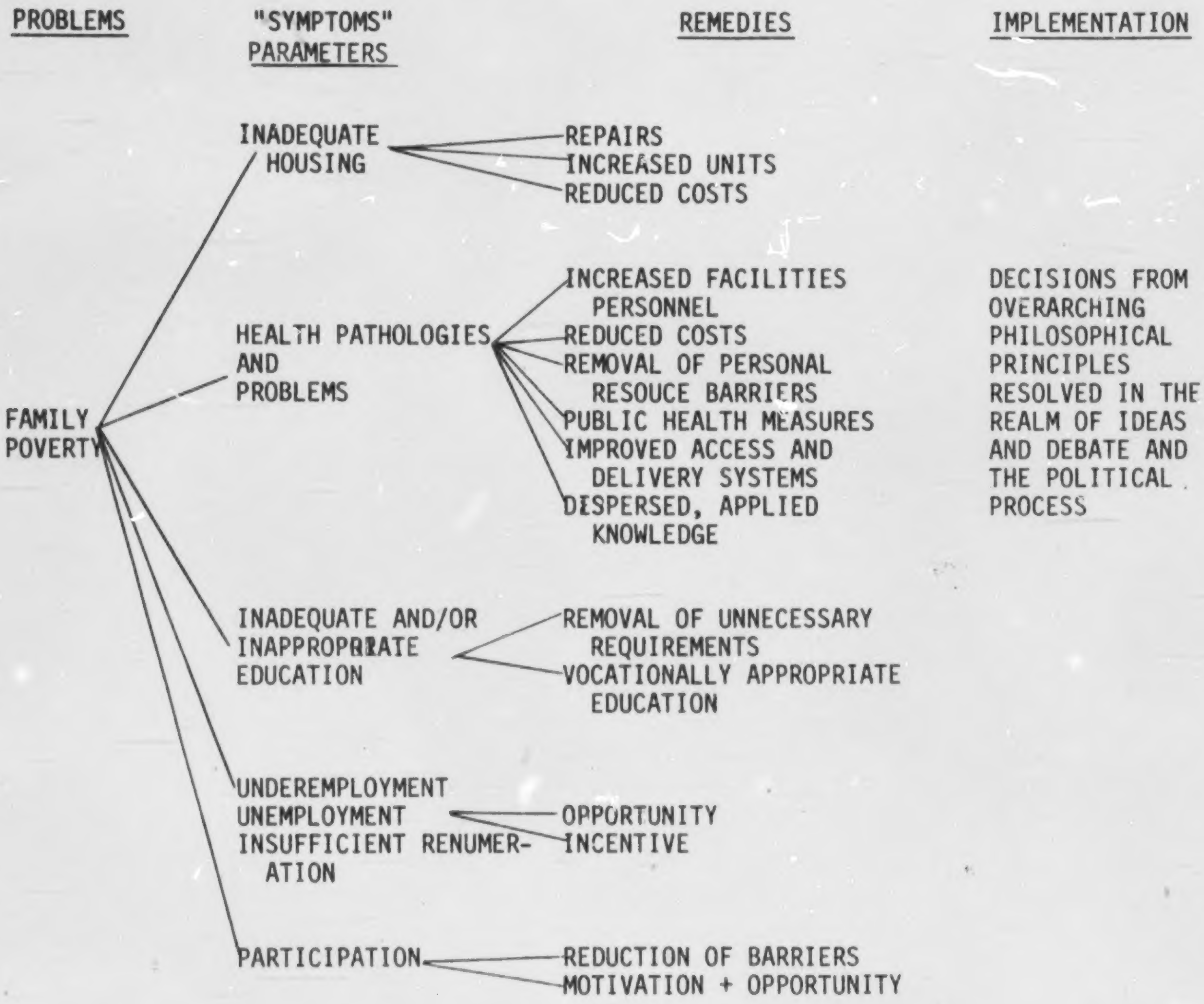

PROBLEMS
"SYMPTOMS" PARAMETERS
REMEDIES
IMPLEMENTATION
FAMILY POVERTY
INADEQUATE HOUSING
REPAIRS
INCREASED UNITS
REDUCED COSTS
HEALTH PATHOLOGIES AND PROBLEMS
INCREASED FACILITIES PERSONNEL
REDUCED COSTS
REMOVAL OF PERSONAL RESOUCE BARRIERS
PUBLIC HEALTH MEASURES
IMPROVED ACCESS AND DELIVERY SYSTEMS
DISPERSED, APPLIED KNOWLEDGE
DECISIONS FROM OVERARCHING PHILOSOPHICAL PRINCIPLES RESOLVED IN THE REALM OF IDEAS AND DEBATE AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS
INADEQUATE AND/OR INAPPROPRIATE EDUCATION
REMOVAL OF UNNECESSARY REQUIREMENTS
VOCATIONALLY APPROPRIATE EDUCATION
UNDEREMPLOYMENT UNEMPLOYMENT INSUFFICIENT RENUMERATION
OPPORTUNITY
INCENTIVE
PARTICIPATION
REDUCTION OF BARRIERS
MOTIVATION + OPPORTUNITY

FIGURE 3: A MODEL FOR PROJECTING REMEDIES ADDRESSED TO "SYMPTOMS" AND PARAMETERS.

The list of things that society simply cannot do, rhetorical escalation notwithstanding, even thought they might be desirable, is virtually inexhaustible.[151]

Interrelated Issues in Policy Planning

Stock responses to economic deprivation seem to be education and employment. Presumably, ills would be solved if both were increased. One problem is that no magic wand legislation can be devised to accomplish these objectives. Possibly the best that a government can do, other than benign regulation for prevention of crime and insuring obedience to legislatively enacted rules, is to do as little damage as possible to those processes of a people which would make education and employment available, and to avoid whereever possible creating of government sanctioned monopolies, whether these be in the form of limiting options to obtain education, exploiting the poor through devices and restraints to raise prices, or preventing the practice of trades, vocations, and professions. Even if the provision of "more" of any and/or all varieties of the above mentioned commodities were a solution, the question of specificity in implementation is one which ranges far beyond mere desirability, committment, or will. It is only to begin to scratch the surface of the nonrhetorical issues which affect the ability of the named items to "solve" all development problems to observe the labor force is surfeited with the over educated in terms of ability of the market to utilize their education.[152] This does not mean that educational opportunity should be limited. Individual initiative probably should be encouraged. It does raise questions about erecting artificial educational requirements, and of "education" as an automatic solution.[153]

Industrial development is an illustrative issue wherein it is easy to conclude that more is better. Without question, industrial development has helped prosperity. However, the result probably is not unidirectional, and, at some point, may represent decrements rather than increments in the overall quality of life which can be found in Mississippi. Furthermore, if the underprivileged of an area are the criteria of judgement, industrial expansion must be of a nature which allows for maximum employment of local area labor rather than recruitment of outside technicians and laborers. This means that developments which impose an increased work force and population growth and in-migration onto a community may not be desirable. The need may be for low wage and labor intensive industry rather than capital intensive high income manufacturing. At the same time, either development may increase the risk of in-migration and population growth.

It would be simple to conclude this report with cliche remedies. Those anti-poverty efforts currently active could be cited with a proposal to double or triple the funding and outreach, or conditions could be cited, such as unemployment or illiteracy, and the recommendation could be made that more jobs be provided or that illiteracy be reduced. It is another thing, however, to state with specificity the exact program which will be effective in accomplishing increased employment or decreased illiteracy. These are questions which ultimately have to be resolved in the realm of ideas and debate.

The promise of Mississippi is great -- for it is yet a relatively unspoiled, nonurbanized State with the prospect of its future development before it. Mississippi, in this enviable position, will do well to profit by the mistakes of others. Though many of Mississippi's characteristics (low educational level, high illiteracy rates, high infant mortality rates) have emerged from Mississippi history, the past has not saddled Mississippi with many of the infirmities characteristic of the older industrialized areas. In Mississippi, the countryside is still viable, the course of her industrial development is in the future, her population concentrations not yet overwhelming in magnitude. There is yet time to consider the warnings expressed by the Twelve Southerners in I'll Take My Stand (1930) of a society always winning "Pyrrhic victories at points of no strategic significance" in a losing battle with those aspects of the life environment which allows man's existence to be most fully intergrated and harmonious.[154]

This report has sought to provide a data base on characteristics of the poverty population in Mississippi and, thereby, to provide some useable information for those agencies with mandates to engage in activities which are expected to have an impact on the causes and symptoms of poverty. A factual basis, plus an awareness of some issues which may be raised and consequences which may be the likely result of a given course of action are desirable ingredients in the planning mix.

Poverty in Mississippi: A Statistical Analysis contains considerable detail on the poor in Mississippi and some of the parameters of poverty. This information on the demographic, economic, social, and geographic characteristics of the poverty population should be of assistance in providing a profile of the extent and distribution of poverty in the State.

SUMMARY

Statistics, tables, and correlations can only delienate the bare perimeters of poverty. Poverty in America is not due to inability of our industrial system to produce sufficient goods to cover needs, but is due to inequities of distribution of goods and services. Categorization of the etiology of poverty are discussed in terms of folklore theories, events beyond individual control, externally oppressed subsociety, "case" theory of poverty, the "culture of poverty", and structurally mandated poverty. Issues in the amelioration of poverty highlighted include income versus services strategy, inclusiveness versus sequestration, structural reform versus increased volume, rule change versus transitional equity, evaluation and implementation, and the policy implications of structural versus cultural interpretation of poverty.

Suggested directions toward which ameliorative steps may be taken include policies relating to migration, selective placement programs, taxation, educational opportunity, increasing employment opportunities neighborhood amenities, locality enablement, retirement plans, and minimum wage legislation. Finally, three analytical models are presented as a means of assisting action agencies in the identification and interpretation of basic data in terms of the role of particular agencies and what these facts mean with respect to the resources of particular agencies.

1. Kenneth Davis (ed.) *The Paradox of Poverty in America* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1969), p. 64.

2. These items, unless specified otherwise, largely plagiarized from "A Nation Within A Nation," *Time*, (May 17, 1968), pp. 24-32.

3. "With strength of many women, and I thought,
   Grown tall and manly, with a living bought,
   Could see my mother lay her drudgery by.
   But still she drags her weary feet, like lead,
   Across thin upland fields, and I beside,
   The weaker yet, the last mouth to be fed,
   Have wished a thousand times that I had died
   That weary summer when I was but nine
   And all her life had not been sold for mine."

   George A. Scarbrough, "Mother," *Sewanee Review*, 48 (1940), p. 463.

4. Roy Basler, "Case No. 13300-Unemployed" *Sewanee Review*, 46 (1938) p. 381.

5. J. Lamm, "Blood Knowledge," *Southern Exposure*, IV (Winter, 1977), p. 3.

6. Marion Clawson, "Rural Poverty in the United States," *Journal of Farm Economics*, 49 (December, 1967).

7. Ben A. Orcutt, "Family Treatment of Poverty Level Families," *Social Casework*, 58 (February, 1977), pp. 92-100.

8. Richard Barringer in Samuel H. Beer and R.E. Barringer, *The State and the Poor* (Cambridge: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1970), p. 307.

9. A. Dale Tussig , "The Dual Welfare System," *Society*, II (January-February, 1974), pp. 50-57; "American Ideology and Anti-poverty Policy, *Intellect*, 103 (January, 1975).

10. "Rising Food Prices Have Widespread Impact," *CNI Weekly Report*, 5 (November 6, 1975), p. 7.

11. Gabriel Kolko, *Wealth and Power in America*, (New York: Praeger, 1962).

12. Vincent and Vee Burke, *Nixon's Good Deed: Welfare Reform* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 13; Robert J. Lampman, *Transfer Approaches to Distribution Policy*, (Madison Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin, 1969). In 1964, the Council of

Economic Advisors made the following declaration about the ease and cost of overcoming poverty:

> Conquest of poverty is well within our power. About $11 billion a year would bring all poor families up to the $3,000 income level we have taken to be the minimum for a decent life. The majority of the nation could simply (sic) tax themselves to provide the necessary income supplements to these less fortunate citizens.

Council of Economic Advisors, "Annual Report," in Economic Report of the President (Washington: USPGO, 1964). Browning has pointed out that "the net transfer of income (total transfers less total taxes) to the poorest 25 percent of the population is estimated to have increased from $25 billion in 1966 to nearly $80 billion in 1973. A net increase of $80 billion to this group, when added to before-tax income, is more than adequate to have moved every family above its respective poverty line." Edgar K. Browning, Redistribution and the Welfare System (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1975), p. 1.

13. Burke, pp. 12-14; Browning has observed that currently some 100 federal welfare programs accomplish income redistribution in the United States,

> ...At a minimum, poor families are subjected to effective tax rates on earnings of 40 to 45 percent, which is approximately the effective tax rate on earnings for a family receiving only food stamps. For families that also receive benefits under other programs, tax rates are generally much higher, ranging up to 80% and even exceeding 100% in some cases.
>
> This problem,resulting from piling one program atop another, is but one indication of the difficulty of coordinating several major programs with overlapping coverage. The current welfare system is so complex that problems of this type abound, and are probably the unavoidable outcome of attempting to "fine tune" the system with scores of programs rather than relying on a few simple ones that could be understood and coordinated effectively.

14. David Elesh, Poverty Theories and Income Maintenance: Validity and Policy Relevance (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Institute for Research on Poverty, 1970), p. 1.

15. The idea that there exists a repository of persons in society who are influential in maintaining poverty because of its utility as a warning to those who do not conduct themselves properly is oversimplification at best. However, this does not mean that some are not poor because they are exploited, nor does it mean

that certain aspects of society do not profit from poverty. Herbert Gans has pointed out that poverty performs a number of functions for many members of society by providing a job market for social workers, crusading journalists, OEO and HEW personnel, and pencostal ministers; the poor constitute a labor pool that is unable to be unwilling to perform undesirable work; the poor "prolong the economic usefulness" of day-old bread, dilapidated buildings. Herbert Gans, Time, (June 21, 1971), p. 64.

16. To the extent the following statement by Smith and Preston is representative implication that poverty is a matter of will which could be remedied by application of sociological voodoo as prescribed by academic messiahs, it is little wonder that a zeitgeist whose tenor is that of the referenced theory in the text may be somewhat respectable orthodoxy. "Only a major redistribution of wealth will eliminate poverty in the United States. But a drastic restructuring of society is not likely in the near future since well-to-do Americans have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo." Ronald W. Smith and Frederick W. Preston, Sociology: An Introduction (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), p. 156. What historical era in which this "redistribution" of wealth eliminated poverty forms the basis of these assertions, what theoretical model the authors' would emulate, or what form the "restructuring of society" would take, are not specified. Nor is there a statement of exactly who (college textbook writers, wealthy businessmen, interlocking directorates, small merchants and entrepreneurs, or whomever) has the vested interest in exactly what particulars of the status quo.

17. Without question, however, there has been exploitation to keep some persons poor in order to utilize their services. Perhaps the clearest example of this can be found in the agricultural South, where documentation is not lacking of expression of sentiments motivated by the desire to insure a labor pool vulnerable to exploitation. This reasoning was behind much of the inequities in the dual school system in the South and the poor provisions made for the education of blacks. There was little need to educate blacks who were destined to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Horton or Leslie observes: "This writer once talked to a women's group about racial discrimination; the women nodded in sympathetic agreement with each remark, but during the tea that followed, many were heard lamenting because black cleaning women were demanding as much money as white workers received! Whatever their professed ideals might be, these women did not wish to surrender their exploitation of blacks." Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, "The Sociology of Social Problems, (Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 11.

18. Such cliche explanations are applicable only for limited exceptions or they are otherwise so broad as to be meaningless as a theoretical explanation of the cause of poverty. For example, one may argue that professional athletes receive yearly salaries exceeding the lifetime income of members of the working hoipolloi partially because they

are able to pursue trades in stadiums built by the public, whereas the working class-person must himself build his shop. As a minimum, equity would suggest that the benefactors of the public stadiums would have to pay for them out of their salaries whereas in reality (Philip Stern, The Rape of the Taxpayer, 1973) the tax structure is such that the successful bare less of a tax burden than do the less favored members of society. Or, witness the existence of athletic palaces on University campuses in contrast to conditions at, say, a State mental hospital, or contrast the inadequate or user-costly health facilities with the luxurious quarters of athletic dormitories in which occupants are paid to reside. Whether this may be regarded as exploitation is perhaps debatable, but it can hardly be argued that poverty in general is caused by athleticism.

19. It is recognized that the explanations categorized here as "folklore theories" may be more characteristic of academicians than of the folk hoipolloi; however, they are styled as such because they belong more to the arena of mythology than to fact. On the other hand, this designation is suggestive that the folk wisdom of a people may reflect more accurate assessment of the realities of the social bond (which may be dismissed by a social scientists as mere "common sense") than the explanations provided by social scientists. One calls to mind, for example, the common sense versus the social science prognostication of the result of the high rise apartment building as a cure for deliquency and anti-social behavior. Will, claiming that "one clear result of the extensive activism of our expanded government is a lower living standard for the poor," observes that liberals

> told us it was not supposed to work out this way. Liberals are always saying that about something...conservatives told them it would work out this way...consider a bit of the record of the welfare state when it does attempt benevolence.
>
> Federal regulation of agriculture was supposed to save the small farms and slow the flow of population to the cities. The result has been a subsidy system that promotes large farms, penalizes small farms, and stimulates the flow of population into the cities, where the poor buy food at high prices which the Federal government supports using their tax revenues.
>
> Regulation of trucking keeps freight rates high. Regulation of air travel keeps ticket prices high, thereby restricting the mobility of the population. Regulation of the railroads has made them what they are today.

> The state monopoly of the postal service has helped make the penny postcard what it is today..
>
> Federal housing projects have resulted in an increase in slums and a decrease in the number of housing units available to the poor.

George F. Will, "Welfare State - An Incompetent Leviathan," Alternative (October, 1971), p. 6.

20. Robert G. Moss, The Collapse of Democracy (New Rochelle:Arlington House, 1976), pp. 77-96; Hans Sennholz, "The Causes of Inflation," Journal of Christian Reconstruction, 2 (Summer, 1975), pp. 33-44; Henry Hazlitt, Man vs. The Welfare State (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1969).

21. For example, "the minimum wage law makes it uneconomical to meet marginal economic needs with people; these needs are filled by machines...Automation fills the vacuum created by the passage of minimum wage laws and other increasing labor costs. Automatic elevators that replaced elevator operators because of their increasing wage demands are a good example of this." Irwin Schiff, The Biggest Con (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington House, 1976), pp. 164-192.

22. George R. Thomas, Poverty in the Nonmetropolitan South (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1972), p. 22.

23. Tussig has written that "...the poor are seen by much of society to be a new kind of 'leisure class,' and a type of resentment which, in the past, was reserved for the true leisure class of absentee landlords and those of inherited wealth, is now directed at the poor." American Ideology and Anti-poverty Policy, p. 249. George R. Thomas, Poverty in the Nonmetropolitan South (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1972), p. 22.

24. See C. Valentine, Culture and Poverty (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," Scientific American, 215; Daniel P. Moynihan, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (Washington: U. S. Department of Labor, 1965), Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Under Privileged Worker," in W. F. Whyte (ed.), Industry and Society (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946), pp. 84-106.

25. Horton and Leslie, p. 366.

26. Valentine, Culture and Poverty, 157.

27. Fred Block, "Beyond Corporate Liberalism," Social Problems, 24 (February, 1977), p. 353.

28. This theoretical position, given considerable articulation by the

"new" left of 1960s -- although it perhaps represented discovery of a perspective and insight which some rightists had long known and expressed -- was that of "corporate liberalism." This view holds that expansion of the role of the state was designed by the allies of corporate leaders to stabelize social and economic conditions so profits could be made on a predictable basis by major corporations. This theory, seemingly novel to respectable academia (defining out the few rightest academics) reversed the traditional liberal view that "liberalism" (most commentators have reversed the meaning of liberal from its classic anti-statist perspective to a view which calls for an increased pervasiveness of the State, and from which perspective "Statism" would probably be a more appropriate term for what is now described as "liberalism") was the movement of other sectors of the population to restrict big business. A major foundation for this theory was provided by Kilko's argument that the Progressive era,which expanded the regulatory role of the federal government, grew from efforts of the largest and most powerful corporate establishments to protect themselves from competition. Gabriel Kolko, Railroads and Regulation, 1877-1916 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965). The theory of corporate liberalism identified the liberal tradition with the "expansionist, interventionist foreign policy that produced ...the endless escalations in Viet Nam." Ibid., p. 354.

29. Black suggests that the point was symbolized for many by the role that Hubert Humphrey played at the Democratic Party Convention in 1964 when he insisted that the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party accept a compromise with the representatives of Southern racism." Ibid., p. 354.

30. Ibid., p. 354.

31. Valentine, Culture and Poverty.

32. Barringer, p. 320.

33. Ibid. p. 322

34. Ibid., p. 324. The author observes:

> As we have long since learned... almost nothing is as effective as the prospect of financial failure or even diminished returns in inducing producer responsiveness to consumer demands... an increasing number of schemes have been advanced to provide the poor and non-poor alike with cash "vouchers" for services traditionally delivered or supported by government. These vouchers could be "spent" to obtain these services from any available and certified institution, public or private, profit or nonprofit, that the holder feels is most

> responsive to his own needs, and exchanged by that institution for a cash transfer from the government... the time seems upon us to accept the costs and short-term "inefficiencies" of duplication of services in the interest of introducing greater diversity, responsiveness, and personal satisfaction into our social institutions.

35. Of course there are obvious target group exceptions, i.e., the disabled, etc. The principle is, however, that wherever possible opportunities should be general rather than particularistic. Unfortunately, many public programs, including those officially on behalf of a selected group, such as the poor, have a tendency to bestow selective benefits on a "reverse welfare" basis, that is, greatest public benefit to those with the least need. For discussion, see Philip Stern, The Great Treasury Raid.

36. A. Bird and John McCoy, White Americans in Rural Poverty (Washington: USDA, 1967).

37. In particular, this principle suggests that lowering of food costs is preferable to a program subsidizing the food expenditures of a favored category of persons; that lower educational costs are preferable to a high cost system with preferences and exceptions for selected individuals or groups; that reasonable cost housing choice across-the-board is preferable to maintenance of high cost housing with subsidation of selected persons and families. Where a principle of exclusiveness is the criterion, there appears to be a tendency for the operation of these programs to bestow disproportionate benefits on those with the least need and, if concentrated on the needy, to bestow only meagre benefits. Harrington observes:

> Out of the thirties came the welfare state. Its creation has helped the poor least of all. Laws like... the Wagner Act, the various farm programs, all these were designed for the upper third in the county, for the big market farmers.... the paradox that the welfare state benefits those least who need help most is but a single instance of a persistent irony in the other America.

38. Michael Harrington, "The Invisible Poor," in E. C. Budd, Inequality and Poverty, (New York: W. W. Nortion, 1967), p. 145.

39. The principle suggests that the equitable distribution of educational resources can best be handled by making education opportunities reasonably available (by a combination of tax policies, perhaps supplemented by a pay-back loan policy). It asserts the desirability of widespread enabling opportunity, rejects the notion that students should be recruited because of the enticement of emoluments offered. The emoulment may take the form of offering access to an occupational arena in which entry is limited as well as the dollar value of the supplement, grant, or scholarship itself.

These limitations might be in the nature of age limitations, income limitations, or other should-be irrelevant barriers to entry.

40. M. R. Colberg, Human Capital in Southern Development, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 124.

41. Edgar K. Browning, "Welfare - A Reconstruction," Humanist, 37 (March - April, 1977), p.13.

42. "If the absolute amount seems staggering, the recent rate of increase appears even more shocking. From fiscal 1974 to 1975, the level of public-welfare expenditures increased by $47.2 billion...this 19.2% increase in one year is the largest on record since the beginning of the statistical series in 1929." G. V. Rimlinger, "The Economic Limits of the Welfare State," Humanist, 37 (March & April, 1977), p. 17. This accomplishment was made during an administration which Block claims represented "a movement away from expanded social welfare programs for blacks and the poor" and a dismantling of welfare coupled with "intensified police repression." Block, "Beyond Corporate Liberalism," p. 354.

43. David Swoap, "A 'Hard Line' Helps The Genuinely Needy," Humanist, 37 (March - April, 1977), p. 33.

44. Browning has pointed out that "the government employees who administer the current 168 federal programs have an understandably strong interest in their continuance" but they have a disproportionate influence "not only because they provide most of the information used to guide policy decisions, but also because only they can claim 'really' to understand how the policies operate." Moynihan has remarked that this group is not" more greedy than the average interest group, but at the same time has not shown itself to be "other than an interest group, one representing middle class professional interests at that." Daniel P. Moynihan, The Politics of a Guaranteed Income(New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 321. Michel has observed that in addition to legislating upon shibboleths (i.e., people will "go hungry" if the food stamp program is made publically responsible, to which Michel aptly counters that "People may very well go hungry if we do not stop it from barreling down a path of unrestrained expansion"), welfare legislation has over the years created a kind of 'interlocking directorate' between constituent groups who receive government funds, the bureaucrats who administer them, and the professionals who seek them. These interrelate with the politicians and their staffs who provide the funds and design the programs." Bob Michel, "The Future Direction of Income Transfer Programs," Public Administration Review (Sept.-Oct., 1976).

45. Harold Hochman, "Rule Change and Transitional Equity," in Harold Hochman and George Peterson, Redistribution Through Public Choice, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974) p. 331. The theory

of transitional equity focuses attention on the arena of entitlements to the certainty that pre-existing rights and endowments sanctioned by a social contract will continue undiminished, that is, with the fairness of windfall alterations in the absolute wealth of some individuals that occur when the community at large, in its quest for a preferable longrun allocative or distributional policy, alters its rules and regulations. With few exceptions, changes in established rules and practices create transitional equity problems, thus placing constraints on the manner in which the inequities fostered by existing rules and regulations can be corrected. An example of inconsistency between demands for rule changes which foster social justice or economic efficiency and the degree to which rules and institutions have legitimized claims and expectations which, while perhaps a travesty of economic efficiency if not of distributive justice (witness the "sales" of sixteen section land leases) is replete with questions of transitional equity, is seen in the utilization of State sixteen section lands. As Hochman points out, "the deliberation of reform proposals in isolation, without due regard for the preconditions and due attention to the decision making process from which existing institutions have emerged, risks substantial normative danger. To undo inequities without causing harm is no simple matter. Nor is it always self-evident whether the harm of transition is more or less severe than the harm of the status quo. That inequity may be clothed in the garb of 'justice' is small consolation." Ibid.

46. Elesh, Poverty Theories and Income Maintenance, pp. 14-15. The Schwendinger's contend, for example, that compensatory education and manpower training programs among marginal groups are irrational in the sense of effectively reducing marginalization without "significant attempts to expand and stabalize the labor market directly through public works, the socialization of industries, and economic planning..." Areas dominated by capital are said to be hindered in social policy planning. The changes in structural relations represented by China, Cuba and the German Democratic Republic are recommended. They claim the result of these longterm strategies for structural change (as opposed to piece-meal attacks) wherein "the anarchy of the market is overcome through economic planning" is that marginalization, crime, and delinquency are sharply curtailed as "the virtual elimination of unemployment and subemployment enormously decreases the number of adolescent marginals, and the size and stability of their delinquent group formations." H. and J. Schwendinger, "Marginal Youth and Social Policy," Social Problems, 24 (December, 1976). Bay, who uses the term "poverty system" to describe remaining free or nonsocialistic societies, contends that "hopes for the future must be based on strategies to strengthen the knowledge and moral of the left while seeking to undermine the moral of the right...by way of exposing the liberal fallacies that are used to legitimate our legal system which safeguards the massive

privileges of the nonpoor, and by demonstrating that personal freedom is compatible with, and indeed requires, drastic reductions in present levels of differential poverty." According to Bay, while some countries "may be able, perhaps with a minimum of bloodshed, to activate and give self-confidence to their poor, on the Cuban, Chinese or Mocambique model," armed struggle must not be ruled out in areas where too many factors conspire to make ascent out of the poverty system difficult, i.e., parliamentary liberal capitalist system. Christian Bay, "The Triple Insult of Poverty: Notes Toward a Study of Liberal Society," Sociological Inquiry, 46 (1976), pp. 223-234. Newton states: "Like the Chinese, who have virtually no unemployment, we could provide jobs for everyone." Jan M. Newton, "Economic Rationality of the Poor," Human Organization, 36 (Spring, 1977), pp. 60. Socialism and fascism, as Rushdoony points out, "give us a civil government of envy and greed, and hence they decapitalize and destroy society." Rushdoony feels that "the basic faith in all forms of humanistic political theory is that a selective rationality exists. This doctrine can hold that one man, a monarch has divine rights and a rationality sufficient for this task." While "the will of one man expresses the greed and sin of that one man," the majority "is no less greedy for being a majority." Minority and majority rule theories insist that this power of rational rule is composed by their elite groups or numbers. For monarchy, rational rule is selectively incarnate in the dictatorship of the proletariat. For fascism, rational rule is the province of the elite party and its leader. R. J. Rushdoony, Chalcedon Report, 140 (April, 1977), p. 1.

47. Some may wonder how a badly indebted federal government has revenue to "share" either domestically or internationally. The truth is there is no wealth producing machine (aside from the issue of inflating the currency, which may be wealth reducing in terms of the purchasing power of money and labor) in either State or federal government. The money to "share" is taken out of the hide of the labor force. Social security, which the government has marketed as "insurance" although it represents unfunded obligations (other than future taxpayer liability) and is in fact (by Supreme Court recognition) a gift or grant rather than an enforceable obligation, is the source from which the federal government now extracts over one-fourth of all its current operating revenues. Social security taxes are an example of government continually escalating the burden it imposes on workers. Not only is the social security tax extraction highly regressive, it has been continually escalated as to the amount on which the government attaches itself, while the percentage itself is continually moved upward. At the same time, there is little question but that some sort of income floor under millions of recipients is an absolute necessity. One could speculate that public benefits to the needy tend to be extremely meager (as those who have property and income tend to restrict appropriate taxation for social causes such as medical assistance, education, or

income maintenance) until a tip point is reached wherein the welfare state ethic becomes dominant and the well-to-do and/or coteries of professioanl supporters (those who provide the services or distribute the largesse) find the welfare state and its programs a lucrative source of nurture. It may be that Statists made a major coup in switching from a commodity food distribution program (which merely provided wholesome foodstuffs themself without cost and without intervention by brokers and middlemen) to a food stamp program (wherein purchases are underwritten by the working population at whatever prices food merchants may be charging). They thus co-opted potential opposition from merchant interests, illustrating an alteration in the balance of interests. While government is extractive of the production of labor, government does "create" wealth" in the sense of *valuables derived as income and benefits* (the "whole scheme of federal, state, and local social welfare, athletic scholarships, veterans emoluments, etc.); *jobs* (including the "free enterprise" businesses which receive their primary income from the government); *occupational licenses* (required for activities from fishing to medicining -- "even occupations which require little or no education or training, like that of longshore person, are often subject to strict licensing" and wherein "such licenses, which are dispensed by the government, make it possible for their holders to receive what is ordinarily their chief source of income"); *franchises* (government distributes wealth when it dispenses route permits to truckers, licenses to liquor stores, allotments to growers of cotton, and concessions in parks"); *contracts* (many enterprises are set up primarily to do business with the government and sometimes make government their principal source of income); *subsidies* (analogous to welfare payments to individuals who do not manage independently are subsidies to businesses and industries); *use of public resources* (electric companies use publically owned water power); and *services* (education, ad infinitum). As Reich has pointed out, "dependence creates a vicious circle of dependence " (It is as hard for a business to give up government help as it is for an individual to live on a reduced income) and "The prospect is that government will necessarily assume even greater importance as we move closer to a welfare state." Charles A. Reich, "The New Property," *Yale Law Journal*, 73 (April, 1964), pp. 733-739.

48. In the American federal system of government there are two sources of sovereignty or ultimate lawmaking authority. These are the State government (a government of reserved or residual powers, retaining all powers, theoretically, not expressly delegated to the central government and expressly intended to be conveyed as specified in the Constitution as written and/or as amended by the *legislative* process), and the federal government (which is a government of enumerated powers, rightfully, in theory, exercising only those powers expressly conveyed to it by the States. The federal government was assigned such powers and responsi-

bilities as maintaining a post office, making treaties with Indian tribes, establishing a uniform system of weights and measures, granting letters of marque and reprisal, and maintaining an effective defense. The federal government was charged with presenting a unified position vis-a-vis foreign entities, while domestic items such as welfare, education, crime, civil rights, and practically all items which touched on individual life and existence were reserved by the States individually. It should also be noted that counties or other local governments do not stand in the same relationship to the States (local governments have no sovereignty, but only Constitutionally and legislatively derived options) as do the States to the federal government. Local governments exist at the pleasure of the States (i.e., their legislative and constitutional structure). The overall paradigm has changed noticeably from that countenanced in the original contract which formed the central government. Many of these changes have been extra-legislative in origin and nature.

49. This is not to justify the process. An option to perform an act, as, say, legislative reapportionment or structuring city government, before it is performed by an extra-hierarchal level, is not a viable option. Different people and interests disagree as to what would be desirable public policy. It may well be that those who have been instrumental in reducing if not eliminating centers of resistance to and cushions against the exercise of centralized power (perhaps feeling that the greater beneficence of the latter made it a socially profitable and desirable objective by increasing the ability of ultimate authority to do ultimate good) may find that the traditional system of checks, balances, limitations, and cushions of individuals and local entities against the exercise of naked authority (no matter how beneficient the reasons may have been for making the conveyance) embodied a wisdom more profound than reason.

50. "Things Are Getting Better Faster For Consumers," Changing Times (February, 1977), pp. 24-28.

51. It may well be that local entities seeking to implement programs, perhaps not being held responsible for proposals in the past, may be somewhat justified in tendencies toward sloppiness in proposal writing. At times, applications for continued or expanded funding might seem to provide a self-condemnation to an objective observer viewing the application from a perspective of logic and internal consistency. For illustrative hypothetical, a community program proposing, say, a transportation system, might state that a program is needed because community members have not developed sufficient mutual assistance interchange to enable the handicapped to meet appointments with welfare agencies. If the funds are coming from without and represent an infusion of dollars into the community, a premium is

placed on acquisition and, in effect, a penalty is placed on local accountability. If it were a locally responsible entity, the question might well be asked as to what the community involvement entity had been accomplishing if it had not been able to develop sufficient mutual self-help interchange to meet this need.

52. The author reviewed one application for a federally funded program (not a CSA program) in whcih five separate local officials gave the program a different designation, but all recommended its feasibility. This particular program seemed to be entirely duplicative of efforts which should already be largely met through local welfare and cooperative extension activities. Another projected program referenced considerable data about unemployment and the need for "day care" type facilities in a county, as if it were somehow addressed to unemployment, but which turned out to be a proposal for a kind of combination "lab" type setting for a university and a baby sitting entity for its students. Meritorious as this sort of thing may be in its own right, it would seem desirable that at some point proposals be evaluated in terms of their specifics of function and delivery rather than by citation of general factors to which they have only a tenuous connection. That proposals which cite a "need" that is in effect an admission of their own failures to be effective in the past, or which cite inapplicable data irrelevant to the program proposed, should be given at least minimal evaluative scrutiny from some source, would not seem to be an overly harsh requirement. Some step in the right direction might be taken by a requirement that all such proposals be centrally and publically filed (with, say, the county clerk) at an advertised place for citizen review, with provision that full opportunity be provided for questioning local officials and program initiators/operators at a deliberative meeting of the body of local officials that has to approve the program. This would probably provide beneficial encouragement to opening the process to public advocacy to a hearing before persons who do not have a vested interest in the continuation of a program as well as to its advocates.

53. Local counties and supervisors may need to recognize that welfare, particularly in terms of delivery of immediate support, is a matter of local responsibility which should be locally financed. This would doubtless promote local responsibility as opposed to uncritical expansion for its own sake. It perhaps needs to be emphasized that the funding of programs is a local responsibility. Here again, while this development would possibly run counter to the interests of "professionals" (to borrow self-declaring terminology) who may prefer a channel of support through extra-territorial means apart from the scrutiny which local responsibility would involve since it would require establishing working relationships on a hori-

zontal level oriented toward public officials rather than peer members of the vocation. More complicated items, such as provision of physical rehabilitation or mental health facilities, might be more appropriately judged as State or area responsibilities, perhaps with considerable State support.

54. Education is cited as an example where families have been disfranchised. Berger and Neuhaus feel that low-income families in particular have little control over where their children attend school or what they do while in school. "This discrimination violates a fundamental human right, perhaps the most fundamental human right -- the right to make a world for one's children." They suggest a system of education vouchers which subsidize the individual rather than the school as one method of giving control of education back to the family. Berger and Neuhaus take exception to the argument that day care should be provided through the public school system. "We are sympathetic to the teachers union's desire for new jobs in a period of education retrenchment," they state, however, they feel that "providing jobs should not be the prupose of education and child care." One might add the same thought with respect to legal services supposedly for the individual poor, which have been accused of turning out to be group advocacy and harassment devices. Peter Berger and John Neuhaus, To Empower People (Washington: American Enterprise Institute), as reviewed in "'Personal' Service Deliverers Proposed as Alternative to Big Government," Economic Opportunity Report (February 7, 1977), p.8.

55. Economic Opportunity Report (February 7, 1977), p. 9.

56. Ibid., p. 8.

57. Thomas R. Dye, Understanding Public Policy, (Prentice-Hall, 1975), p. 107. Scheibla states that the War on Poverty began on the premise that poverty in the most prosperous nation in the world constituted on overwhelming problem which had to be dealt with on a crash basis even though no one could be sure of the means of ending it. She states that "How many actually believed this assumption (that federal action was essential) and how many used poverty as an excuse for fostering socialism probably will never be known. At any rate, the nation plunged pell mell into a crash program to carry out untried and revolutionary ideas without adequate consideration or even preliminary testing on a small scale." Shirley Scheibla, Poverty Is Where The Money Is (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington House, 1968), pp. 186-208.

58. The designation legislators as opposed to planners and/or administrators is purposefully used, since the broad outlines of social policy and the methodology by which they are to be attained (or their absence) is the responsibility of the legislative body of a State as the people's ultimate and their directly controlled tribunal in which a collective voice can be exerted. However, the consideration of unintended consequences and overall distributional effect of contemplated policies is

no less relevant for administrators and planners.

59. Fuller has observed how social programs, once implemented, can have unfortunate unintended consequences:

> When the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the Land-Grant College System was initiated...it was with the anticipation that, if farmers could be helped to be more productive they would prosper and the foundations of Jeffersonian rural life would be strengthened. It was a populist and rural fundamentalist idea. But.. the Land-Grant College Act was to become probably the most influential prometropolitan step ever undertaken by the national government. The expected new farm technology...contributed more to the obsolesence of farmers than their prosperity.

Varden Fuller, Rural Worker Adjustment to Urban Life: An Assessment of Research (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1970), p. 2. Hightower notes that "mechanization research by land grant colleges is either irrelevant or only incidentally adaptable to the needs of some 87 to 99 percent of America's farmers. The public subsidy for mechanization actually has weakened the competitive position of the family farmer. Taxpayers, through the land grant college complex, have given corporate producers a technological arsenal specifically suited to their scale of operation." Jim Hightower and Susan DeMarco, "The Land Grant College Complex," in The People's Land, pp. 89-95. Cf.: Alice Rivilin, Chapter 2, "Who Wins and Who Loses," in Systematic Thinking for Social Action, (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1971), p. 36-45. Harrison has pointed out that while the stamp of professionalism, specialization, and conservatism was clearly placed on those institutions created through the Morrell Act, "the primary job of the land-grant college

> ...was to train its students in specific functions useful in a growing industrial nation. In this setting, the task of higher education was not seen as engendering the discovery and contemplation of truth in any non-utilitarian, non-technological, way. The Jeffersonian liberal could continue to talk of equality, democracy, and social betterment through universal literacy and education. Such talk might even have a certain moral influence in mass society at large; but it was not to be taken seriously by the country's elite, by its social, political, and financial giants. Those in high positions of economic and/or political power well understood the "appro-

> priate functions" of the land-grant school. The old, private schools -- Harvard, Yale, Princeton, for example, would still educate the sons of the elite and these would continue to run the country. The land-grant schools in general, would for the most part supply the white collar workers of society.

Frank R. Harrison, "Plucking Minerva's Owl," Modern Age, 21 (Spring, 1977), p. 176.

60. Dye, Understanding Public Policy, pp. 20-21, 115.

61. "Every now and then we catch a frightening glimpse of this enormous structure and what it means in terms of accountability and manageability. For example, a member of the House of Representatives several years ago set out to determine how many assistance programs were available and maintained in the Federal Government. It took him 2 years to find out that there were over 1,300 such programs, many of which were unknown to the people they were established to help. It was discovered, for example, that no one in the federal government had an idea how many assistance programs existed, where they were located, and how they were designed to help American citizens.

    Then we have the spectacle of the House of Representatives engaging in a tense, prolonged, and emotional battle over the appropriation of funds for rat control in our major cities. After all the shouting had died down, it was discovered that there existed already eight programs in various Government departments to do the same thing. So, the size of the Federal bureaucracy -- which just keeps growing like Topsy year after year despite that unfair and growing burden which it places on the taxpayer -- is compounding the difficulty and confusion which the average American encounters as he attempts to function in today's society. If this continues, the day will come when not only business will choke to death on Government redtape but the average American wage earner and property holder will suffocate as well. "Barry M. Goldwater, "Gargantuan Monstrosity," New Guard (September, 1970), p. 39.

62. Browning, Redistribution and the Welfare System.

63. V. G. Cicirelli, The Impact of Head Start, (Report to the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity by Westinghouse Learning Corporation and Ohio University, 1969). See Ibid., p. 8, for Cicirelli's summary of the impact of Head Start. Cf.: S. White, "The National Impact of Head Start" in J. Hellmuth (ed.), The Disadvantaged Child, (New York: Brunner, 1969). Rossi and Williams, who conclude that the Westinghouse study is "the most rigorous national assessment of the program which has been conducted, and its conclusions are valid" admit that programmatic conclusions which should have logically followed have proved unfounded. They ex-

plain that one lesson which is brought out is:

> ...large-scale federal programs, once initiated, are not easily dismantled. When the educational and poverty lobbies mobilize for a program which captures the public's imagination...it is not easily abolished or curtailed.

McDill and Sprehe, noting a tendency for ineffective programs in terms of their original justification to remain entrenched once given a broadscale implementation, opt for "pilot progams prior to initiation of a nationwide effort which often requires a functional autonomy once launched." Edward McDill and S. T. Sprehe, "Evaluation in Practice: Compulsory Education," in Peter H. Rossi and Walter Williams (eds.), Evaluating Social Programs (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 166. Cf.: Walter Williams and John W. Evans, "The Politics of Evaluation: The Case of Head Start," Annals, 385 (September, 1969), pp. 118-132. Even so, some interests have argued that a "sleeper effect" becomes apparent wherein "disadvantaged" children provided with Head Start "intervention" improve performance for years afterwards over what could have been expected without the "special treatment". "Early Intervention Has Long Term Effects, Experts Say," Report on Preschool Education, IX (March 15, 1977), p.6. It has also been claimed that "home based parent intervention programs show an even greater positive effect (Ibid) and that Head Start type programs have been instrumental in changing community institutions and in improving "parenting abilities." "Eight Years of Head Start Research Indicates Program's Success, Failures," Economic Opportunity Report, 12 (March 21, 1977), p. 4 and Report on Preschool Education, 9 (March 15, 1977), p. 2.

64. Rubin Morton, "Migration Patterns of Negroes from a Rural Northeastern Mississippi Community," Social Forces, 39 (October, 1960), pp. 59-60.

65. A. Lloyd Bacon, "Migration, Poverty and the Rural South." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociology Section of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Jacksonville, Fla., (February 1-3, 1971); "Poverty Among Interregional Rural to Urban Migrants." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Washington (August 26-30, 1970).

66. There is some apparent legitimacy to the contention that provision of education for persons who are productively employed elsewhere, such as rurally educated persons who move to cities, does provide subsidation for the city which does not have to train its own labor force. However, the sound perspective is to recognize the public obligation to provide educational services for citizens as human beings rather than to tender or require education because of the economic benefit education may feedback into an area). Most providers of education (parents, consumers) think in terms of provisions for individuals rather than

in terms of an area calculus, and, in fact, are willing to support education because of the chance it will give educated persons to take advantage of opportunities which may require migration. In its ultimate and real sense the provision of educational benefits in an area are benefits to which the area receives all that to which it is entitled by the process of their provision completely apart from any question of additional return. Other area subsidation in an inverse fashion does come into play if the costs of public higher education in say, New Jersey, are such that a New Jersey resident can receive a collegiate education in, say, Mississippi, at less cost than he would have to pay in New Jersey even after out-of-state fees are included. In this case, there would be direct subsidation by Mississippi of New Jersey's educational responsibilities. If such an inequity existed it could be corrected by charging out-of-State college students at least the cost to the State of their education in Mississippi.

67. One potential might be those employers who desire to utilize the acceptance and expectation of work among rural Southerners, which seems to make them desirable and/or willing employees,who might be assisted in recruiting Southern labor. One editorial has suggested that "The government could use its enormous computer facilities to match workers with jobs..."Putting America to Work," Christian Science Monitor (4/21/76) in News Clippings (Washington: Office of Public Afairs, Community Services Administration, April 19-26, 1976), p.14.

68. For explicit statement of the case for redirecting migration from declining regions to centers of expanding employment,see Niles M. Hansen, "The Case for Government Assisted Migration," (Paper prepared for the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, 1971). Cf.: Frank Welch, "The Evolving Low-Income Porblems in Agriculture," American Economic Review, 50 (May, 1960), pp. 143-150, and Charles K. Fairchild, "Transfer of Population from Rural to Urban Areas: Rural Disadvantaged Mobility," Labor Law Journal, 20 (August, 1969), pp. 461-473.

69. Edwin S. Mills, "Economic Aspects of City Size," in Population, Distribution Policy, quoted in James A. Weber, Grow or Die! (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington House, 1977), pp. 114-115.

70. Niles Hansen, "Regional Development and the Rural Poor," Journal of Human Resources, 4 (Spring, 1969), pp. 205-214; Rural Poverty and the Urban Crisis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970).

71. Specifically avoided are auggestions otherwise which view individuals en mass or in group terms. There has possible been to much emphasis on alleged ancestral disqualifications or immaginative speculation on what might have been if. This kind of reasoning is not logically restricted to any category of persons. Numerous persons of all classes may have been wealthy,

may have been physicians, politicians, real estate developers, or perhaps a golf pro, if someone in their lineage had not been dispossessed or disequalized somehow, someway, at some time. It is suggested that immaginative speculations which imply that representatives of any particular group should be compensated with educational or employment favor be recognized as nonlogical in rhetoric and demeaning in practice. It is suggested that legislation should put a kibosh on compensatory programs based on immaginative speculations.

72. Freeman and Baland have pointed out that the existing tax system serves to undercut rather than maintain the general welfare. "Preference is given to the "haves' over the 'have-nots.' The system is in fact so regressive, both absolutely and relatively, that it is constitutionally suspect, and not merely 'bad policy.' Harrop A. Freeman and Timothy J. Baland, "The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Taxes: Toward a Democratic Theory of Tax Reform," Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly (Summer, 1975), p. 681. "It is the 'poor' and middle-class working people who carry the heaviest load by paying...social security and other forms of regressive taxes." A. Blaustein and G. Faux, The Star Spangled Hustle (New York: Anchor Books, 1973), p. 4. In 1976 interest paid on the national debt of $650 billion was $44.6 billion. It is estimated that by 1982 this interest will reach $55 billion a year. Reduction of interest costs could provide a salubrious tax cut since "the interest will account for more than 25 percent of the $171.2 billion that government expects in revenues from personal income taxes in fiscal '78." Congressional Record (February 11, 1977), S-2751. Adding to the national debt has been the "handy way" of financing runaway spending stretching back into the Eisenhower administrations. Ibid. Although this extract of circa $45 billion from the substance of American taxpayers is collected by private banking establishments in concert as the "Federal" Reserve System, the latter has never been subjected to Congressional audit. No speculation is tendered as to the role of "super-rich" interlocking directorates at highest levels of government and in the vast financial empires that benefit from the product of the labor of the American public extracted in interest. But it is suggested that these billions of dollars go to someone somewhere, and it would seem to be in the interest of the laboring Americans and their representatives to ascertain where. Is it really necessary that the average American should spend his life in debt? It is estimated that the medieval serf was subjected to the extraction of thirty percent of his product for the privilege of existing. The American worker labors January, February, March, April, and May just to pay the cost of government; he must render a tribute to government in excess of 40% of his product.

73. Mississippi: A Fiscal Summary (January, 1976).

74. This cultivation provides a major arena for the articulation of what Parsons and Shils have described as "vocabularies of motive". For example, limitations on competition are often voiced as de-

vices in the "public interest." Devices to increase consumer exploitation (such as "Fair Trade" pricing laws) are often labelled with honorific titles as though they protect rather than do violence to the public interest. Interestingly, it is typical that those who support consumer exploitation through such devices as "fair trade" or minimum wage impositions against consumers and the would-be employed generally do not support legislation, such as Right to Work provisions (which allows labor its inherent right to labor without tribute to a "union" which would impose itself on and extract economic nutrients from labor on pain of employment) in which the honorific title bears some relationship to the actual content of the legislation. Perhaps a classic example of this vocabulary of motive is seen in the effort to equate educational quality with an increase in emoluments for teachers or other educationist functionaries.

75. This does not mean reform or lessening of the devastating human impact of property taxes. For example, all politicians are rhetorically against bureaucracy, government "waste" and so on. As for the property tax, Peterson has observed that "intermittently over the last few years, popular irritation with the property tax has reached such peaks that commentators have thought they discerned the beginnings of a genuine property tax revolt. Opposition to the property tax by the electorate seem to indicate that there is political mileage in the issues of property tax reform and property tax relief. During the early months of the 1972 presidential campaign, both major candidates promised to come up with campaign planks on the property tax issue, although these promises never materialized into specific proposals. George E. Peterson "The Issues of Property Tax Reform," in Property Tax Reform, p. 1. Two factors seem to be illustrated. One is that political rhetoric, particularly as it relates to tax policy, is not necessarily translated into legislative or administrative reality. The second is that the property tax, being a local matter, is thus a matter in which the sovereignty of each separate State is individually exclusive. It bears no discernable relationship to any identifiable matter which touches the federal government. For discussion of the "severe inequity prevalent in the system of ad valorem taxation in Mississippi,"see James L. Robertson, "Problems of Valuation and Equalization in Mississippi's Ad Valorem Tax System", Mississippi Law Journal, 48 (April, 1977), pp. 201-258.

76. H. J. Aaron, Who Pays the Property Tax: A New View? (Washington: Brookings, 1975), p. 1.

77. Dick Netzer, Economics of the Property Tax (Brookings Institute, 1966), p. 1.

78. Aaron contends that "the that families with low incomes must pay a larger portion of their incomes in property taxes than do families with high incomes has been generally accepted throughout the twentieth century. Although some observers dissented, the prevailing view in economic analyses and political statements alike has been that, through this tax at at least, the poor do pay more. During the past decade, however, economic analysis has shown this notion to be incomplete, even with respect to that portion of the tax levied on housing; it now suggests that the property tax is probably progressive on the average, although some low-income families may be exposed to heavy burdens." Ibid. p. 2.

79. Netzer, p. 3.

80. J. Jensen, Property Taxation in the United States (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1931), cited in Ibid., p.3.

81.

REAL ESTATE TAXES AS A PERCENTAGE OF FAMILY INCOME, OWNER-OCCUPIED SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES, BY INCOME CLASS AND BY REGION, 1970

Family income[a]	United States Total	North-east Region	North-central Region	South Region	West Region	Number and distribution of homeowners No. (000)	% dist.[b]
Less than $2,000	16.6	30.8	18.0	8.2	22.9	1,718.8	5.5
$ 2,000 - 2,999	9.7	15.7	9.8	5.2	12.5	1,288.7	9.7
3,000 - 3,999	7.7	13.1	7.7	4.3	8.7	1,397.8	14.1
4,000 - 4,999	6.4	9.8	6.7	3.4	8.0	1,342.8	18.5
5,000 - 5,999	5.5	9.3	5.7	2.9	6.5	1,365.1	22.8
6,000 - 6,999	4.7	7.1	4.9	2.5	5.9	1,530.1	27.8
7,000 - 9,999	4.2	6.2	4.2	2.2	5.0	5,377.4	45.0
10,000 - 14,999	3.7	5.3	3.6	2.0	4.0	8,910.3	73.6
15,000 - 24,999	3.3	4.6	3.1	2.0	3.4	6,365.6	94.0
25,000 or more	2.9	3.9	2.7	1.7	2.9	1,876.9	100.0
All incomes	4.9[c]	6.9[c]	5.1[c]	2.9[c]	5.4[c]	31,144.7	

[a] Census definition of income (income from all sources). Income reported was received in 1970.

[b] Cumulated from lowest class

[c] Arithmetic mean—median for U.S. is 3.4.

Source: John Shannon, "The Property Tax Reform or Relief? in Property Tax Reform (Washington: Urban Institute, 1974,p. 27. The text of items one through seven were lifted from pp. 26-27.

82. "When a family manages to keep a house until retirement, economic and tax developments frequently make it impossible for the older couple to retain it, even though it is finally paid for." Harold

O. J. Brown, The Reconstruction of the Republic (New Rochelle, N. Y. Arlington House, 1976), p. 200.

83. There are several ways that government benefits from inflation. For example, whenever costs increase the government rake off through taxation is increased. If property values appreciate, then the tax rake off on the appreciation increases. The point sought to be made in the text is that assessors should not be allowed to make arbitrary increases of say, more than ten percent, by naked claim that the value of the property in their jurisdiction is similarly evaluated and assessed. Land which is not on a paved road, which is unimproved, unfenced, and unsupplied with a water source, for example, should not be arbitrarily raised on the claim that area land that is not so situated has appreciated when area land which is so situated is not equally taxed. The burden should be on the assessor to show that vulnerable owners have not been isolated for discriminatory treatment. This observation does not address such thorny policy issues of legislative hegemony as problems of taxing farm land in urbanizing fringe areas, the inappropriateness of minimal land holdings as an indication of ability to pay, the need to prevent speculative holding of land (particularly in cities) until unearned increments increase prices, penalties against improvements, or the need to encourage alienation of "mineral rights."

84. The principle is akin to the adage of boiling a frog by slowly increasing the temperature. A truer perspective on the amount of taxes actually paid by individuals probably could be obtained by allowing wage earners to draw their full earnings three weeks out of a month, then slugging them with the deductions for that month in one dose the fourth week. This would, perhaps, force some recognition of the influence of the government take on the worker's livelihood.

85. Perry Prentice, "Understanding the Property Tax," Land and Liberty (March and April, 1977, p. 27.

86. Subject to mediating features of public policy to prevent acquisition of large estates without a correspondingly weighted distribution of tax responsibility, and prevention of speculative land.

87. One unfortunate aspect of current Mississippi law is that which enables municipalities to exert self-executing territorial imperialism over adjacent unincorporated areas completely apart from the desires of the people being incorporated. Many people have sought to live outside the city to avoid the various contrivances, edicts, ordinances, regulations, and other harassments characteristic of cities. On the surface it would seem to be an exercise in ultimate totalitarianism for municipalities to have the power to self-extend themselves irrespective of the people of the area to be consumed. Immediately upon subjugation, newly occupied area residents are likely to be harassed by increased taxes (the city, in effect, is enabled to select victims from whom it extracts transfusions by its own preference and decree and without consent), requirements, expenses, notices,

and limitations effecting behavior ranging from use of space to holding a garage sale. Desire of the city to attach itself to the livelihood of people in unwillingly annexed areas, it is suggested, is neither a morally nor practically cognizable justification. As for the latter, and the contention that suburban residents "exploit" the city, one might contemplate what shape municipalities would be in if suburban people did not condescend to be employed in and make some expenditures in and some utilization of the public services in the legal municipality. A municipality, can, by self-executing degree, completely overrule and negate the citizens exercise of choice as to the kind of governmental service structure -- school system -- comparative taxation load, etc. -- he selects to the degree he makes a choice between the options represented by incorporated municipal areas and the remaining free or county areas.

88. Some provision is made in Mississippi law (Code Section 27-35-145) for an application and hearing before the Board of Supervisors setting forth the grounds for a reduction in an assessment . However, an onus is not put on the assessor for accountability for the assessment, thus, possibly, forcing the small landowner unfairly assaulted by a local assessor to argue a general against a specific. Evidentiary material should be extended to require that the assessor supply substantiation which the aggrieved small landowner may attack. There should be an accompanying requirement that the assessor, the assessor's staff, perhaps county school officials, and members of the Board of Supervisors, provide an explicit comparative evaluation chart of their properties which would require a prima facie showing, on the basis of this information, that the property in question was not being overtaxed by comparison. The aggrieved small landowner should be able to compel production of records requiring the assessor the comparative reasonableness of any assessment. See Joseph A. Pechman, "Taxes and Inequality," in Lee Rainwater, Social Problems and Policy: Inequality and Justice (Chicago: Aldine, 1974), pp. 201-214, for discussion of replacing part of the property tax with a consumption tax. Vickery has observed that "The flat-rate general property tax, which formerly was the most satisfactory progressive tax available, has become completely inappropriate as an element of a progressive tax structure." William Vickery, Agenda for Progressive Taxation (New York: Sentry Press, 1972), p. 10.

89. Waller, in a study of the apparel industry, observed that "not only do apparel manufacturers account for a large proportion of total manufacturing employment, but they also provide a significant part of the total number of jobs available in some counties." He feels it noteworthy that the industry, which has low skill requirements and pays low wages relative to most other types of manufacturing, "began to move into the state when there was an abundance of unemployed or underemployed labor and provided jobs where otherwise none were available." He opines that perhaps "more important is the influence apparel

manufacturers have had on the attitude of people toward industtrial firms locating in their midst. They have...helped in gaining acceptance of industrial employment and its regular hows and routine as a tolerable way to earn a living." E. Nolan Waller, "Mississippi Industry: Apparel Manufacturing," Mississippi's Business, 34 (June, 1976), pp. 1-3, 6. Waller, observing that "Mississippi, in relation to other states, is high in apparel employment and low in high-wage skill jobs," opines it "seems obvious that more of this latter type of employment is needed."

90. Faulkinberry has recently suggested that low wage industry may be problematic itself by causing in-migration. P. Faulkinberry "New Faces in the South," Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (February, 1977), cited in SRDG (Southern Region Demographic Group) Newsletter, 27 (April, 1977), p. 5.

91. Michael F. Nolan, review of G. Summers, et al, Industrial Invasion of Nonmetropolitan America, in Rural Sociology, 41 (Winter, 1976), p. 561.

92. George Sternlieb and J. W. Hughes (eds.)., Post-Industrial America: Urban Decline and Inter-Regional Job Shifts (New Brunswick, N. S.: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1975). A recent report by the Southern Rural Development Task Force shows a comparatively higher increase in manufacturing employment in small towns and rural areas in the South than in cities. Garrison, a University of Tennessee economist, explains that "cheap land, plenty of water, new super highways, easy living, a plentiful labor supply with a solid work ethic that tends also to be anti-union -- all these things make it worthwhile for businesses to move to the countryside or to small towns." B. Drummond Ayres, "Growth in Economy of the South Spreads to Towns and Rural Areas," New York Times (March 29, 1977), photographically reproduced in News Clippings (Washington: Community Services Administration, Office of Public Affairs, March 28- April 14, 1977), p. 34.

93. Brian J. L. Berry sees the diffusion of cities' population and industry as a frontier movement. Believing that this energetic frontier spirit is consistent with "cultural predispositions and values of the American mainstream," Berry feels "speeding abandonment" of the city is a possible policy to adopt. Post-Industrial America.

94. Lewis Mandell, "Quality of Life Factors in Business Location Decisions," Atlanta Economic Review; 27 (Jan.-Feb., 1977), pp. 5-6.

95. Jusenius and Ledebur, responding to the charge that federal expenditure patterns provide a relative economic advantage to the South, claim that these arguments (i.e., federally discriminatory

advantage) "are at best, tenuous; at worst, they are severe distortions of reality." C. L. Jusenius and L. C. Ledebur, A Myth in the Making: The Southern Economic Challenge and Northern Economic Decline (Washington: Dept. of Commerce, Office of Economic Research, Economic Development Administration, 1976). Faulkinberry, p. 5.

96. Thomas E. Till, Rural Industrialization and Southern Rural Poverty in the 1960s: Patterns of Demand in Southern Nonmetropolitan Labor Markets and Their Impact on Local Poverty (Austin: University of Texas, Center for the Study of Human Resources, 1972), p. 230.

97. E. Nolan Waller, "Growth of Wholesale Trade," Mississippi's Business, 35 (February, 1977), p.4.

98. Quoted in Till, p. 231. Thompson has cautioned that industrial relocation in the South has the allegedly discriminatory quality of concentrating in the "white hill country", and that rather than instant prosperity, racial "discrimination" and an overcrowded job market are likely to hit the area as migrants are lured by the availability of new jobs.Essay in Sternlieb and Hughes,op. cit.

99. In the sense of functional social theory wherein integration (a smoothly working systemic interrelationship among various facets or components of a social system) is a requisite which every society and/or social system must successfully resolve at least to a minimal degree if it is to remain a viable ongoing entity. At least a minimal degree of harmony or satisfactory interrelationship must be attained (people must feel that things are working out like they are supposed to) if morale is to maintained. Morale in the sense of a willingness to give oneself to specific undertakings, in the sense that the future affords reasonably predictable reliability, as reflected in an absense of a pervasive excess of anomie, is an essential element of the social bond and of the identification with and willingness to support the underpinnings of a social order.

100. Mississippians have faced the psychological nausea of being overqualified for manual work and unable to find employment in their field of training. Ron DeChristopher, "Steve Geno is Young, Eager, Educated -- And Unemployed," Jackson (Ms.) Clarion-Ledger (April 13, 1977). During the last three months of 1976 there were 1,520 unemployemnt compensation claims filed by individuals in the professional-managerial-technical fields. The job prospects outlook faced by the State (wherein running faster is required to stand still in the employment - unemployment balance because of the oversupply of applicants) is illustrated by the fact that the number of employed persons in Mississippi during February, 1977 (885,000) was greater than during January (875,000). Even so, unemployment rose to 64,000 in February from 61,900 in January. Ron DeChristopher, "Out-of-Work Professional Not Alone," Jackson (Ms.) Clarion-Ledger (April 13, 1977). If it should be determined that any State agencies are using funds

to pay employees to foster academic education, it may be appropriate to place an immediate kibosh on such a practice. At the same time, making educational expenditures a tax credit would be an enabling factor allowing those persons who desire to obtain additional education on their own initiative to do so.

101. Apart from the economic good sense, lower costs of consumer items is of far more social benefit with inherently more equity of distribution than are increases in wage or professional incomes.

102. Of course, it is conceivable that some rather weighty issues may be uncovered relative to interlocking ownership or diversified industrial firms which might require specific legislative kiboshes.

103. Donald J. Devine, "Welfare Without Injustice," *Modern Age*, 21 (Spring, 1977), p. 165. Devine feels that this "tremendous regressiveness in societal welfare" would have become critical "if the market sector had not produced great increases in wealth to offset many of the costs. More critically, it seems inherent in the welfare state ... to easily become insensitive to personal and property rights of individuals." *Ibid*.

104. "Policy Statement on Poverty," *Rural America*, 1 (Dec. 1976-Jan., 1977), pp. 5, 12. Devine has observed, with regard to social services, that "the further removed, they are able to confuse the issue and 'succeed' with apparently costless programs...national legislators pass so many complex programs, voters find it impossible to evaluate their success or failure." "Welfare Without Injustice," p. 165. Reduction of broadscale "steps" into discernible specifics (see the policy statement on poverty cited above for an example of avoidance of specificity) smetimes encourages a feeling that the goal is funding of specific community groups from an extra-community source without general local responsibility. Or so it might seem.

105. "Especially do national authorities have control of the money supply and can increase taxes through inflation without visible legislation -- the inflation causing all sorts of...economic dislocations and social inequities. And under cover of this confusion, actual welfare state policy seems to create more injustice than it solves." *Ibid*., p. 165. "Even if national agencies can collect taxes more efficiently,this is more than offset by the benefit that local ones do not have access to the currency and its means to create inflation. There is some difficulty resulting from wealth being unequally distributed among communities,but those with the greatest problems - especially the large cities like New York -- have the most wealth." *Ibid*., p. 166. Cf.: Milton Friedman, "Containing Spending," *Society*, 14 (March/April, 1977), pp. 88-92.

HISTORICAL COMPARISONS OF WORK TIME* REQUIRED TO PAY STATE-LOCAL-FEDERAL TAXES

		HOURS: MINUTES	
YEAR	ALL TAXES	FEDERAL	STATE-LOCAL
1930	:57	:17	:39
1935	1:18	:29	:49
1940	1:28	:45	:43
1945	2:04	1:41	:24
1950	2:01	1:29	:31
1955	2:08	1:34	:34
1960	2:22	1:40	:42
1965	2:20	1:35	:45
1967	2:26	1:39	:47
1968	2:35	1:46	:49
1969	2:43	1:53	:50
1970	2:37	1:45	:52
1971	2:36	1:40	:56
1972	2:38	1:41	:57
1973	2:39	1:43	:56
1974	2:44	1:47	:57
1975	2:37	1:40	:57
1976	2:41	1:44	:57
1977	2:42	1:44	:58

*8-hour day.

TAX SERVITUDE PER 8-HOUR WORK DAY, UNITED STATES, 1977

ITEM	HOURS : MINUTES	
Item	Hours	Minutes
Taxes:		
Total	2	42
Federal	1	44
State and local		58
Food and Tobacco	1	8
Housing and household operation	1	30
Clothing		25
Transportation		40
Medical care		26
Recreation		20
All others[1]		49
Total	8	

[1] Includes consumer expenditures for items such as personal care, personal business and private education, and savings.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES,[1] SELECTED YEARS

AMOUNT (billions)

Fiscal year	All governments	Federal	State and local	Total per household
1977	$715.7	$447.3	268.4	$8,607
1976	633.9	393.0	240.9	8,699
1975	556.3	339.7	216.6	7,823
1970	333.0	208.2	124.8	5,252
1965	205.7	130.1	75.6	3,581
1960	151.3	97.3	54.0	2,865
1950	70.3	44.8	25.5	1,615

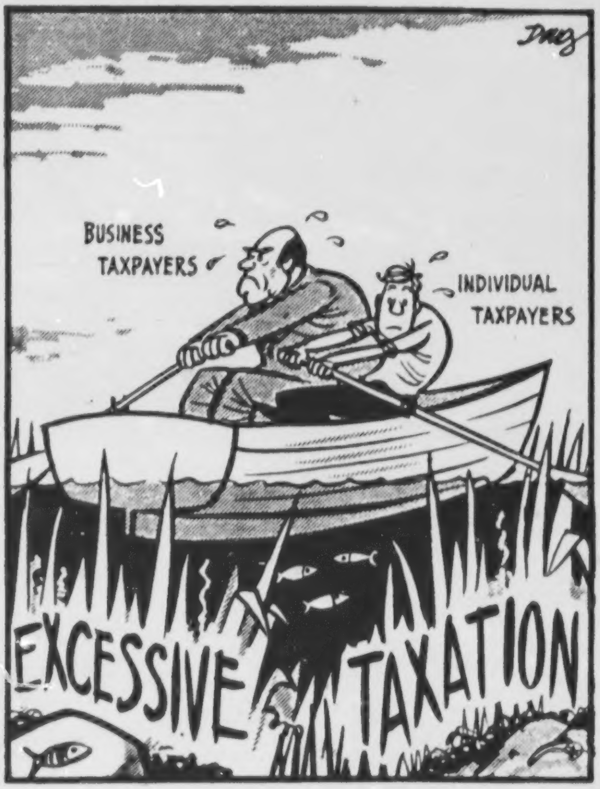
[1] Grants-in-aid are counted as expenditures of the 1st disbursing unit.

[2] Estimated.

Source: Originals, Tax Foundation, Inc. These tables, Congressional Record (May 25, 1977), E 3287.

Government spending in 1977 was expected to average $9,607 for each American household, representing nearly half of the mean average household income. Taxes are by far the largest single item in the average family budget. Hagedorn has observed that legislative debate in terms of budget items should be couched in terms of daily work burdens being imposed upon individuals. "While a $162 billion budget figure for HEW might carry little real impact, the recognition that this would entail at least a a half hour of labor every day by every individual taxpayer might better convey the magnitude of the legislation." Tom Hagedorn, "Tax Servitude to Government as Compiled by Tax Foundation," Congressional Record (May 25, 1977), p. E 3826. Hagedorn notes that "the public sector is taking an increasingly large share of the national product and making determinations about how that money should be spent...We are assured that there is nothing to worry about in the fact that so much money will be going to government in the form of new taxes since most of it will be returned in the form of various rebates. Yet, the bottom line remains the fact that it is the Government determining the form of the rebates and the beneficiaries of the rebates. The money may, indeed, be going back to the private sector, but not to the people who originally paid the taxes. It will be going to individuals, and toward purposes, which the Government finds worthy--not the worker who earned the income." Ibid. It is sometimes argued that Mississippi "profits" by this exchange by an exploitative position vis-a-vis tax victims in other States, i.e., that Mississippi receives more returns in "federal tax dollars" than are extracted thereby. That one entity benefits at the expense of other entities does little to justify either the morality or the structural consequences of the process. Furthermore, it is a miserable non sequitur as an argument for making extractions of the labor of workers elsewhere. Nor, if excess rather than deficit in an exchange of "federal dollars" is desired on the assumption of a sum total dollar increase to Mississippi, does the argument acquire any semblance of validity even at this level without consideration of the form in which the return or distribution of "federal dollars" takes, i.e., does it increase or decrease current individual and familial disequalization. It is suggested that the latter question is far more important than is the comparative amount of deficit or surplus of exchange. And, as well, there are corollary questions of great magnitude, such as the effect of the process on the political structure, the possible danger of the development on umbilical economic relationships, the addictive consequences of dependence on federal outlays, and other issues which go far beyond a mere economic accounting or balancing of extractions with infusions.

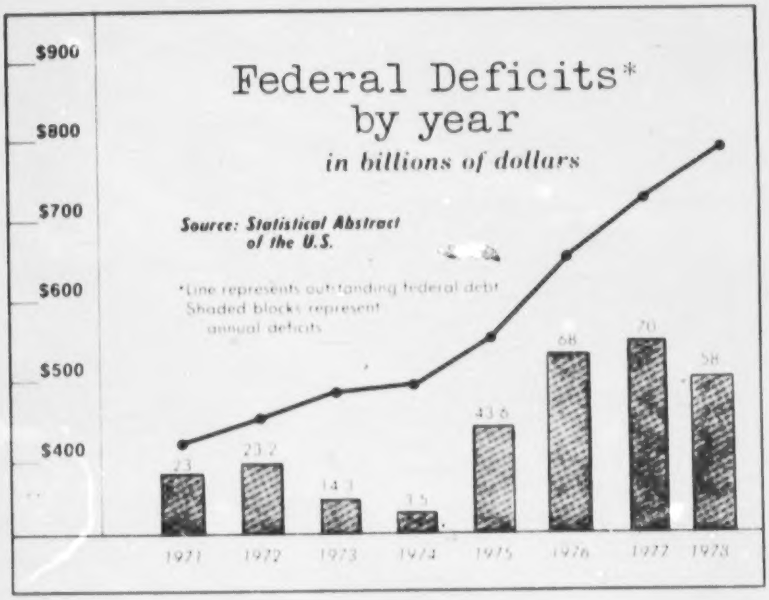
THE SAME BOAT



Source: Simpson County (Ms.) News (May 19, 1977).

Addiction to governmental expenditures may increase reliance on government largesse for survival at the same time requisite taxation is strangling the ability of businesses to generate employment and the ability of workers and their families to meet the tax impositions or develop any repository of personal savings. Laxalt has noted that "Despite all the rhetoric about reducing taxes and balancing budgets, there are usually more votes to be got by expanding or creating programs than by reducing or eliminating them. The perceived gain to beneficiaries and bureaucrats is more immediate and outweighs by far the perceived cost to taxpayers. Consequently, government keeps getting bigger, one program at a time." Paul Laxalt, "On Limiting the Size of Government," National Review (April 15, 1977), p. 437. Laxalt feels that "the momentum behind government growth is so strong and the resistance to it so weak that, unless effective action is taken soon, the growth of the government could become unstoppable."

Laxalt claims that "Outlays in public assistance and other income supplements...have more than doubled in just four years, from $11.4 billion in fiscal 1973 to an estimated $22.9 billion in fiscal 1977." He feels that it is easy to personify the federal government as a superhuman entity in its own right--to see it, rather than the taxpayer, as paying for certain benefits. The results, Laxalt feels, "is a false impression of something for nothing..." Ibid.


Federal Deficits*
by year
in billions of dollars

Source: Statistical Abstract of the U.S.

*Line represents outstanding federal debt
Shaded blocks represent annual deficits

The contention that "the greater the amount of government spending, the more the economy is depressed, retarding economic growth, production, and the creation of new jobs" may be economic law rather than mythological. The American gross national debt in 1976 "was more than $620 billion, meaning that every man, woman and child in the country owed $2,884.29." Simpson County (Ms.) News (May 19, 1977), p. 3. Mississippi, as a State, can put aspects of its own State and local taxation system in order. A basic need is an easily utilized procedure for holding assessors accountable for inflicting arbitrary increases. Appeal to a board of supervisors is not sufficient protection. Similarly, current misfeasance in the rental of sixteenth section lands by local officialdom needs to be remedied. For discussion of rental abuse by local officials and school board members, see W. F. Minor, "Just Good Ole Boys...Supervisors, School Boards, Get the Choice Sixteen Sections," Reporter (February 10, 1977).

106. Devine, p. 167.

107. Ibid., p. 170. Devine is of the opinion that the welfare state seems cruelest to those who are most defenseless and who usually only ask for the basic necessities. Thus, the aged are brutalized by the inflation intrinsic to the development of the welfare state as their savings are reduced to the degree that none but the most affluent can avoid becoming dependent upon the state even after a lifetime of self-sufficient earning and saving." Ibid., p. 163. Hapgood contends: Government and monopoly are natural allies. Both share the ideology of socialism for the rich and capitalism for the poor. In this view, the bracing chill of capitalist competition is good for the poor; it toughens their fiber so they can better work their way up out of poverty. The rich, on the other hand, have already made that climb... and deserve to be excused from further effort. They are to be supported under our form of socialism." David Hapgood, The Screwing of the Average Man (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1974), pp. 239-240. For a statement of specific ways in which social services legislated in splendid array in the 1960s "to intervene in the so-called free enterprise economy and protect people..." backfired, see Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven. "The Acquiesence of Social Work," Society, 14 (Jan. - Feb., 1977) pp.55-63.

108. "And when taxes alone take over one-third of income it is amazing that people now contribute as much as they do and that the voluntary sector is as vital as it has been." Devine, p. 170.

109. Ibid., p. 171.

110. The Economy Is Lagging? Farm Journal (February, 1977), p. 72.

111. There are signs this salubrious state of affairs is being reversed and that the nation is on the brink of another baby boom. The U. S. News Washington Letter (Friday, May 6, 1977), p.1.

112. Pittman notes refusal of the Mississippi House of Representatives to bring intrastate gas pipelines under regulation of the Public Service Commission is "not necessarily an indication that the legislature is in the hands of corporate influences." One view is that freeing business to develop more profitably may do more to develop Mississippi economy than any legislation that could be contrived. However, Pittman points out this is not the prevailing view....the idea that Mississippi's relatively cheap labor supply is a necessary element in leapfrogging the dollar gap is still damned by labor leaders, some economists and humanist-oriented political types." Newsletter (Feb.,1977).Sherman argues against the premise "all Americans will benefit from more profits" by contending that increased monopoly profits tend to lower wages and to create more inflation and unemployment. Howard Sherman, "Profits Up; Wages Down." in Pamela Roby, The

Poverty Establishment (Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1974), pp. 105-114.

113. D. Waterford, *National Review Bulletin* 29 (March 11, 1977), p. B32. It should be noted that "government itself is the chief engine that produces higher prices." Some of the apparent ways government was fueling inflation by price-boosting pressures arising from its own programs in the spring of 1977 included:

1) Presidential pressure on foreign shoe producers to limit exports which, if successful, would reduce competition and badger the poor with higher shoe prices.

2) Efforts to harm the poor by raising prices of farm crops.

> The minimum price for much of the milk that is sold in this country is set by the Department of Agriculture. That price is now being hiked from $8.26 to $9 per hundred weight with the result that retail prices are expected to go up...with other dairy products rising, too.

3) Exploitation of the poor through minimum wage laws. Unions strongly back this imposition.

4) Paper work to comply with federal regulations reportedly adds billions to business expense which are reflected in higher prices.

5) The Carter budget called for a massive federal deficit of nearly $58 billion for the next fiscal year, up $11 billion from the proposal by President Ford, but $6 billion less than the sights of the House Budget Committee. According to *U. S. News*, Carter appointees were "pressing for increased spending - for housing, aids to small business, health care for the needy, 'alternatives to abortion,' financial assistance for low-income students, crop loans, mass transit and many other programs."

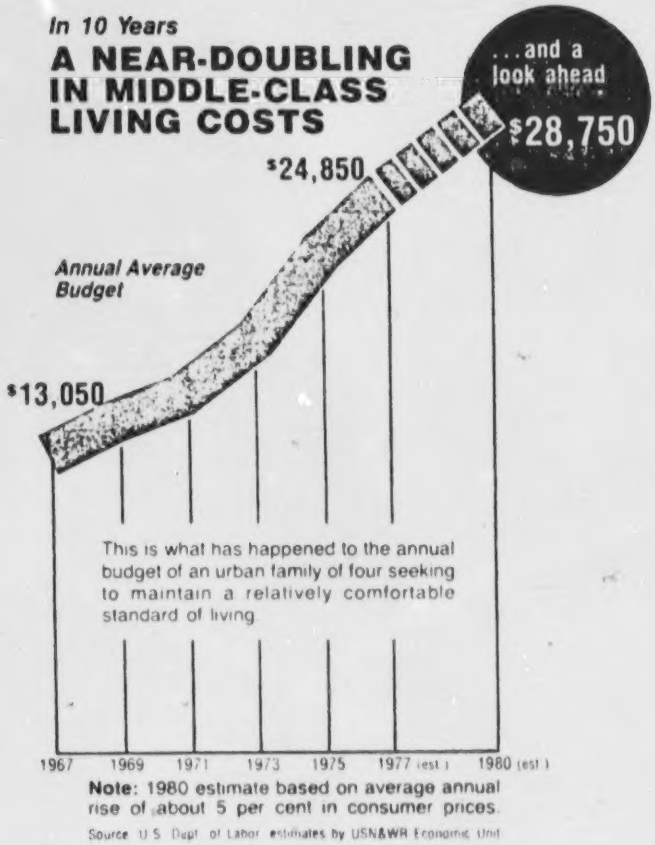
"How Government Itself Keeps Prices Rising," *U. S. News and World Report* (April 18, 1977), p. 16. For discussion of the historical record of government spending in effort to promote economic recovery, see Yale Brozen, "The Road to Recovery," *National Review* (April,1977).

114. Harvey notes that New York supplies public assistance to 80% of its "poor people," whereas only 18% receive welfare in Texas. In the

past five years welfare's share of the State budget has declined. The average taxpayer in New York City pays five times as much for welfare as the average taxpayer in Houston. "In many states welfare pays better than working. Not in Texas...That means that in Texas poor people are poor people, eager to accept jobs. So 'unemployment...is consistently less than the national average ...Texas has broken the poverty cycle. ." Paul Harvey, "Everything In Texas Is Big -- Except Welfare" (Los Angeles Times Syndicate, 1977). In Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, able-bodied welfare applicants are required to take specifically created county or city jobs in a "Pay for Work" program. "In Milwaulkee: 'If You Don't Work, You Don't Eat," U. S. News and World Report (April 14, 1977), p. 82, photographically reproduced in News Clippings (Washington: Community Services Administration, Office of Public Affairs, March 28-April 4, 1977), p. 51.

115. The point might be raised that a depression in modern America could be worse than during the 1930s when the levels-of-living of the masses were considerable harsher and when a larger proportion of people were likely closer to a self-sufficient plane. One wonders, for example, how the "food stamps" era generation would adjust to a diet of cornbread and potatoes when available, or "hot meals" elementary students would take to a biscuit lunch. More apropos, perhaps, is the observation that a power shortage would likely be considerably less traumatic for houses without electricity than for a contemporary "Gold Medallion" all electric house. And what about the skills necessary for survival on a comparatively independent or self-sufficient plane in the modern machine age of prepackaged goods and interdependence? In addition to whatever emotional and cultural shock that might be experienced and to which the contemporary population may well be much more vulnerable, a question might be raised as to the potential for marauding rapacity of the contemporary population faced with a prospect of deprivation? Wages and prices seem to be to a large degree the result of political clout and/or the degree of vulnerability of the group at whose expense gains are achieved. The government's capacity for intervention in the interest of those groups it seeks to favor, which may prevent the market adjustments which would permit recovery, is much greater than it was prior to the New Deal and the subsequent evolution of centralized power which it unleashed. Furthermore, regarding rapacity, one might contemplate the relative power of modern labor unions. Or, one might observe the "public servant" strikes of the recent decade. These factors, taken individually or severally, might be important considerations in weighing the potentially destructive impact of depression then and now.

116.



This is what has happened to the annual budget of an urban family of four seeking to maintain a relatively comfortable standard of living.

Note: 1980 estimate based on average annual rise of about 5 per cent in consumer prices.

Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor; estimates by USN&WR Economic Unit

Source: U. S. News & World Report, May 2, 1977.

117. Today it costs $47,000 to buy a new house that sold for less than $25,000 in 1967. A new car costs, on average, about $5,500, up from $3,200. Sending a youngster to college can easily set the family back about $6,000 just for one year. Ibid., p. 50. The plight of the broad shouldered middle class is graphically depicted in U. S. News and World Report (May 2, 1977), pp. 52-55.

118. "Outrage Over Utility Costs Aired," and "Higher Utility Bills Hit Elderly and Poor Hardest," News Clippings (Washington: Community Services Administration, Office of Public Affairs, April 11-18, 1977), pp. 31-34.

119. The most apparent and dramatic increase was probably the circa 50% in prices at the gasoline pump, and, as well, in heating and cooling energy. Paradoxically, the profits of oil companies and public utilities escalated to record breaking proportions simultaneously with alleged shortages, price increases and incantations of sympathy by utilities and oil companies.

120. "The Squeeze on the Middle Class," U. S. News and World Report (May 2, 1977), p. 50.

121. Ibid.

122. "Energy: America at the Crossroads," Nation's Business, (April, 1977), pp. 18-21.

123. Cathy Lerza and Mike Shuster, "The Profits That Came In From The Cold," Seven Days, 1 (March 14, 1977), p. 3.

124. Mike McCormack, "Energy and the Future of America," Intellect, 105 (April, 1977).

125. Ibid., p. 315.

126. For example, the automatic fuel adjustment clause (FAC) of "use less but pay more" provision on an electric utility company's tariff schedule allows the company to slug the consumer automatically and without a rate hearing with the portion of the cost of electric power which results from increased fuel costs. Such clauses possibly should receive a kibosh. S. J. Martin, "The Fuel Adjustment Clause and Its Rate in the Regulatory Process," Mississippi Law Journal, 47 (1976).

127. Fuel-cost Breaks for Smaller Residential Users?" Christian Science Monitor (January 10, 1977).

128. At Issue: Energy (Oakland: Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Company, 1976), p. 17.

129. Ibid. One might add that subsidy systems for a privileged class such as those provided by "food stamps" etc., would be horrible in concept, terrible in impact. It is the responsibility of energy companies to provide adequate supplies at low cost without public subsidation.

130.

BIG PINCH FROM TAXES

Even if a middle-class family's income keeps up with inflation, its buying power suffers because of progressively higher federal tax rates and rising Social Security taxes.

Married Couple With Two Children

1970 Income	1977 Income, If It Kept Even With Inflation	1977 Income, After U.S. Income and Social Security Taxes	Change in Purchasing Power, 1970-77
$10,000	$15,540	$13,018	Down 3%
$12,500	$19,425	$16,099	Down 3.5%
$15,000	$23,310	$19,174	Down 3.4%

$17,000	$26,418	$21,554	Down 3.7%
$20,000	$31,080	$25,020	Down 4%

EVEN WORSE, climbing State and local taxes have eaten still deeper into middle-income living standards.

Note: Assumes over-all price increases of 55.4 per cent from 1970 to 1977. Tax computations assume all income is earned and that taxpayers itemized deductions equal to 17 per cent of income

Not the least of the beating imposed on American workers has been the impact of direct taxes imposed by government. Social Security taxes are particularly problematic. Millions have been led to believe that social security funds were "invested" and they, in retirement, drew returns from the investment. This has never been true, although it was Social Security Administration Policy to claim that a social security card was a symbol of one's "insurance." The "Social Security Trust Fund" is a myth. It operates as a kind of surge tank for momentary alterations; it does not represent assets to cover actuarial liabilities. Social Security is a *tax* to support current inflationary spending by government. Several years ago warnings were voiced about the potential and likely coming bankruptcy of the system. These were dismissed as the ravings of antequated alarmists. By the 1970s even supporters of the concept, taking cognizance of reality which could no longer be rhetorically dismissed, began to for replacement of the insurance illusion. By 1977 it was apparent that current income via Social Security taxes (sometimes euphemistically labelled "contributions") would not be able to meet *current* outlays. In May, the president was proposing the use of general income tax funds to meet current Social Security operating costs. "Social Security Plan Stirs Hostility," *Memphis Commercial Appeal* (May 11, 1977), p. 1.

131. Petersen has documented how that much regulation ostensibly in the interest of consumers is "all too frequently a matter of right ends and wrong means. The consumer is the one who has to carry the government freight of regulation..." Mary Bennett Petersen, *The Regulated Consumer* (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1971).

132. Mark Skousen, *Playing the Price Controls Game* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1977), p. 121.

133. Maximum opportunity for entrance into an area may be said to exist when all categorically qualified people are admitted into the arena without being subjected to evaluation as to likelihood of success, or subjected to extraneous evaluations by which some are sifted from a number of similarly qualified applicants. To put it another way, all persons who wish to be lawyers should have the opportunity to study law (or medicine, or whatever) in some program which, if they are successful, allows them to compete

on merit (not with each other,but against objective standards), for admission to the practice of a profession or vocation. The principle is open admission (and sufficient provision of facilities to meet whatever local demand there may be, with evaluation and **attrition occuring by barriers in terms of learning ability and the dedication and perseverance it takes to learn the occupational role** rather than by blocks on entry into opportunity. This does not mean that a particular institutional provider of vocational, technical, or professional skills should take all applicants into its particular program. It does mean that some program should be available from some source (junior college, trade school, correspondence, hospital affiliated) by which all those who desire can learn the skills requisite for entering any particular occupational arena. For example, all those who wish to acquire the health care related skills (not necessarily community analysis and professionalizer attitudes) requisite for, say, nursing, should have the opportunity to learn these skills without being subjected to the extraneous requirements which might be an accouterment of a University affiliated program. Secondly, it means access to all individuals, not those who win out in competition among peers or who receive favors of selection because of amibiguous or external qualities (such as atheltic participation as a sign of "leadership" which provides a favorable edge in competition for admittance to a professional school), who have the self-declared interest to enter an occupational arena, i. e., all persons with a high school education accepted into some kind of nursing training program who desire to receive such training, all persons with collegiate educations into professional medical arenas, etc. Thirdly, this does not mean total access to all levels of prestige schools, but it does mean sufficient provision for persons to enter into the occupational area. The competition then, is not to see who gets to acquire the skills, but at the level of competition within the occupational arena i.e., not who gets selected to be trained as a plumber, but open access to the plumbing vocation with competition among plumbers. Fourth, all areas of inquiry (vocational, professional, aesthetic) should be open to persons who want to learn the specialty because of whatever intrinsic interest or motivation they may have, not because of any "payoff" to the community because of the applicability of these skills once learned. This view maximizes the dignity and autonomy of the individual and his quest for self-actualization, and completely rules out age qualifications of any sort in terms of being "too old" to learn (or attempt to learn) within any area of inquiry and to make whatever use thereof (if any) in terms of the free choice of consumers as the market might justify. Fifthly, open access and adequate provision emphasizes the individual as individual rather as representative of race or class. Individual justice is not served by the selection of representatives by any sort of criterion or for any reason whatsoever (real, imputed, imposed, or otherwise) to enter into sequestered favor by which the weight of the State is used to fence out others equally desirous and qualified to enter the arena. Sixthly, this view emphasies that restrictions on entry and/or learning opportunity should not be sanctioned to limit entry into a field or to enhance, protect, or increase the earning of those who are admitted. The State should not be a party to the erection of barriers, but should be the promoter of equality of opportunity, not the creator of repositories of vested interests either by 1) limiting entry, or 2) by imposing extraneous educational requirements. Seventh, where there is demand for content areas, the need should be met. However, this should not be accomplished by an artificial forcing of persons into educational perquisites where the education is not necessary for the occupation involved apart from its credentialing imposition. Neither the needs of the individual nor the public is maximally served when limitations on desired areas force persons into residual areas, as, say, education or business administration. In summary, provision should be made for the education/vocational training for all State applicants into that arena, but credentialing should not be used to impose peripheral educational requirements as a perquisite to entry into an occupational area. The latter may be imposed by a combination of either a) artificial credentialing or b) selectivity rather than open access which forces persons into less desirable areas for which provision is made, i.e., limitations on those who wish to study, say, medicine, while liberally making available opportunities to study marketing or education.

134. Schiff feels this figure is put into perspective by comparision with the circa 33,200 collegiate degreees (undergraduate plus) in sociology awarded in 1970, making it "appear that our economy for some obscure reason felt a need to turn out sociologists equivalent to 40 percent of all those being trained in 350 apprenticeable and essential occupations," explaining: "Now do you see why its so hard to get a plumber? However, if you need a sociologist-- you're in good shape.'" Schiff, p. 119.

135. "I wish also to mention... that overeducation could serve for downward mobility, as well as for a good deal of frustration, for people who are kidded into thinking that if they get a degree in marketing, they're going to get a job when they get through, and find they don't know anything about anything." Edward Banfield, in "The New Politics of Less," New York Affairs, 3 (Fall, 1975), p. 12.

136. For discussion of the belief that the medical profession restrains entry by limiting medical school capacity, see Frank S. Sloan, "The Demand for Higher Education: The Case of Medical School Applicants." Journal of Human Resources, 6 (Fall, 1971), pp. 466-489; "Real Returns to Medical Education: A Comment," Journal of Human Resources, 11 (Winter, 1976), pp. 118-126. For discussion of factors in the militancy of vocational jobs with professional status aspirations, such as nursing and teaching, see Joseph A. Alutto and James A. Belasco, "Attitudinal Militancy Among Nurses and Teachers." Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 27 (January, 1974), pp. 216-227.

137. A concrete example is provided by the vocation of dental assistant. Whereas dentists are free to hire and train personnel as they need them to do what they need done, the growth of junior college training of dental assistants may result in legislative pressure to require that all dental assistants meet educational specifications.

Such an effort, primarily in the interest of the providers of education, and those persons who have chosen the education rather than the on-the-job learning route, would effectively disfranchise persons from opportunity for employment in an area in which persons can be office trained satisfactorily. To impose educational requirements in order to increase scarcity in an occupational area (which is not needed by dentists or consumers) for the benefit of providers of educational services is the kind of artificial credentialing that the legislature should assiduously avoid.

138. Of course, a particular institution has a right to impose any extraneous requirements on students in any area which it may desire; however, such impositions or concomitants of the philosophy of a particular institutional provider or set of institutions should not be allowed to control the requirements for all persons who wish to enter an occupational arena, that is, persons should have the option of learning how to accomplish the tasks necessary for performing the appropriate role of a particular vocation (e.g., in nursing, assisting the physician in caring for the sick) without encumbrance by peripheral perquisities.

139. "A small percentage, but that's there. They become ambualnce technicians or inhilation therapists. They are primarily black and Puerto Rican." Julius Topol, in "The New Politics of Less," p.12.

140. S. M. Miller, *et al* , "Poverty, Inequality, and Conflict," *Annals*, 373 (September, 1967), p. 36. Some communities in Mississippi have reportedly undergone a transition from armed robbery as a "very, very rare thing which might not occur over a period of several years" to one wherein "we sometimes have two or three a day -- and its growing" (statement of Sheriff Harvey Tockett of Washington County). Tockett pointed out that one reason local crime was 1) court bottlenecks;2) crowded dockets "that defense lawyers take advantage of to bargain for their clients;" 3) tax-payer provision of full time lawyers for 75% to 85% of the persons charged with crime;4) part rather than full-time prosecuting lawyers;5) few prison terms that are finally given criminals amount to more than a fraction of their original sentence; and 6) the turning of criminals out on the street because of overcrowded jails. "Criminals Get More and More Breaks -- And Crime Grows," *Leland* (Ms.) *Progress* (March 24, 1977), p. 1.

141. It might also be suggested that notwithstanding whatever value there may be in general programs to prevent delinquency through alternative activities or motivations, the feeling that residents are protected as fully as possible through comprehensive surveillance, detection of ongoing crime, and surety of meaningful punishment, is one area in which residents of low income areas face a major deprivation in comparison with those who live in more secure neighborhoods. It is possibly unfortunate that most emphasis regarding the poor and police protection has focused on the relatively minor issue of abuse of the poor rather than the major factor of

failure to provide a safe environment. It is further suggested that the factor of neighborhood safety from victimization of its residents through violent crime is one of the major deficits in quality to which the poor are subjected and that failure to recognize this variable may be indicative of a gap between the priorities of spokesmen and service brokers who plan and advocate in their behalf.

142. Patricia Sexton, *Education and Income* (New York: Viking Press, 1961) pp. 143-144.

143. Barbara Shenfield, *Myths of Social Policy* (Rockford, Illinois: Rockford College Press, 1975), p. 32.

144. For example, it may be argued that "coercive intervention in labor contracts by government and by labor organizations granted special privileges by government has been an important cause of the most dramatic and difficult of the urban problems--the high rate of unemployment among low productivity work groups in urban areas--the young, the old, minority race members..." Benjamin Rogge, "No New Urban Jerusalem," *Freeman*, 25 (March, 1975), p. 167.

145. Yale Brozen, "Minimum Wage Rates and Household Workers, *Journal of Law and Economics*, (October, 1965), pp. 103-109; D. K. Adie and L. Galloway, "The Minimum Wage and Teenage Unemployment," *Western Economic Journal*, 11 (December, 1973), pp. 525-528.

146. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944), p. 297.

147. Thomas H. Naylor and James Clotfelter, *Strategies for Change in the South*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 69.

148. Douglas Adie, "Teenage Unemployment and the Minimum Wage," *Journal of Political Economy* (March/April, 1973), pp. 435-441.

149. Carlton R. Sollie, *et al*, *Changes in Quality of Life in Mississippi: 1960-1970* (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin 824, 1975)p. 11

150. For a listing of limitations of policy in affecting societal conditions, see Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, pp. 342-343. Dye points out, for example, that some societal problems are incapable of solution because of the way they are defined; specific policies may not be able to eradicate problems that have multiple causes; "solutions" may be more costly than the problem; people may adapt themselves to policies in ways that render the policies useless; policies that solve the problems of one group may create problems for other groups; there are *no* policies which can simulataneously attain mutually exclusive ends. *Ibid.* We might also do well to recognize Brown's observation:

> If the goal of government is to "do everything

> and to change everthing, then a constantly expanding bureaucracy is inevitable...Unless we control our appetites, we cannot control our government. We certianly cannot expect it to limit itself, because it senses our appetites far more strongly than it is persuaded by our claims that we are tired of bureaucracy, taxes, and government interference. If the ultimate goal of government ...is readily an infinite challenge, then it will require an infinite effort--in fact, infinite taxes, infinite paperwork, and infinite interferrence: infinite in the sense there will be no limit to them, no place at which people will say, "This is clearly all that we want or need," until the limits of exhaustion are reached.

Harold O. J. Brown, The Reconstruction of the Republic (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington House, 1977), p. 87.

151. "It is not financially possible, for example, to provide 'free' urban public transportation. It would be possible to establish a limited, tax-supported public transportation system in large cities, but it is becoming increasingly evident that any good system will run up immense costs. If it is no good, no one will use it, and costs will quickly outstrip the system's usefulness. The limits we encounter through lack of resources or energy are an obstacle that no govenrment, democratic or dictatorial, can brush aside." Brown, p. 132.

152. Hapgood observes that when the average man started going to college he set off an arms race in degrees.

> ...The diploma had been a good method of rationing privilege...of not having to judge applicants on their merits...personnel simply classified them by diploma and took the ones with bachelors degrees. This worked well as long as diplomas were scarce, but the system broke down when the graduates started marching in by the thousands. This had two consequences distressing to the average man who had paid his four years on the premise that this sheepskin was also a meal ticket, just as the learn-and-earn propaganda had told him.
>
> First came a glut of diplomas. In one privileged job after another, a growth-maddened education industry turned out more graduates than the market could absorb. Obscured somewhat during the boom years of the 1960s, the change became painfully evident in the early 1970s. In 1973, according to the "Occupational Outlook Handbook" of the Department of Labor, the outlook was...

> bleak. The education industry itself produced 108,000 jobs while it turned out 191,000 degrees in education. And so on. Graduates who expected to go on to professional schools faced equally poor odds; law schools, for example, could take only one in four applicants. With the children of the rich jogging along easily on the inside track, the great majority of those three million losers will be the sons and daughters of working-class parents who grasped at the illusion of opportunity.
>
> Too many diplomas chasing too few jobs also produced an inflation in degree requirements as the personnel department, desperately trying to sort out the crowd, began asking for more schooling for the same jobs. The inflation began with the postwar flood of graduates. In Education of the American Population, a study of the 1960 census, John K. Floger and Charles B. Nam found that in the decade of the 1950s, only 15% of employers' increased demands for diplomas could be accounted for by changes in the nature of work. The other 85% was due to added diploma requirements for the smae jobs. The education industry is one of the major contributors to the inflation. Schoolteachers in the 1930s needed two years past high school; then it became four and now it is creeping up to five years. Even the ultimate in academic trophies, the Ph.D., may not be immune to inflation. Doctorates are in surplus in many fields.

David Hapgood, The Screwing Of The Average Man (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1974), pp. 158-159. Perhaps in no area has euphemistic absurdity been carried further than by the educational system itself. The demand for educational kudos has been somewhat self-feeding, that is, a contrived demand for more education in order to meet provider needs. Thus, it became necessary for increasing proportions of college faculty members to have doctorates. To meet the demand, degrees such as "Doctor of Education" or "Doctor of Arts in Teaching" with reduced requirements that ill-resembled a traditional doctorate were concocted, some in areas of questionable content, such as "educational administration" or "higher education". Regional bachelor's degree teachers emerged from the queues at teacher normals. Many regional institutions began "doctoral" programs in education or some educationist derivative such as counseling or teaching psychology. Persons in fields wherein they could not obtain a legitimate doctorate burgeoned the education route to become doctors of "math education" etc.

Some schools quickly expanded as their reputation developed for providing doctorates in areas of educational adjunct. At the same time, some claimed to detect a lowering of expectations for degree completion, so that one found, in was alleged, it was necessary to be neither scholarly not to make indefatiguable mental nor gut effort to accumulate hours in "school plant planning" or "curriculum development". The M. A., and perhaps, the doctorate, became less a symbol of learning than of collection of credits through class enrollments. Private schools, particularly at the M. A. level in education and business, found it necessary to keep demands sufficiently low and measures of supposed performance sufficiently high to draw enrollments to finance their operations.

Added to this was the increase in degree status by euphemism. For example, theological seminaries converted the Bachelor of Divinity into a Master of Divinity;Law Schools, following the example of a night law shcool in Oklahoma City, began calling the traditional Bachelor of Law a "Juris Doctor," and college publicity departments began sending notices of the earning of a "doctoral degree" to hometown newspapers of law school graduates. In academic settings, which, of all areas, its incumbents should have known better, the doctoral courtesy title began to be expanded.

Theological seminaries, whose legitimate Doctor of Theology antedates the now more prestigous Doctor of Medicine and probably traditionally required the equivalent in esoteric learning, developed a kind of doctorate (Doctorate of Ministry) which looked and sounded almost legitimate, but which was a kind of participatory degree with appendaged seminars. The ministry has probably exceeded (in cohort with sectarian colleges which awarded honorary "doctoral" degrees) the abuse of bogus doctorates more than other fields (while government schools spread them around, they usually go to persons who do not pass them off on the public as titles, such as political figures, etc., unless granted to a prominent educationist). Academic quasi-doctorates, invented to bypass the rigors of real doctorates, could, by standards of terminologic integrity, be titled something other than a doctoral degree. Given the current escalation, one might expect public elementary schools within driving distance of educationist factories to be staffed with doctors. While there is nothing necessarily detrimental about educationists increasing their education (for some love the process, and, for those desiring, it would seem to have as much merit as golf or other worthy diversions), to assume that elementary or other public school students need doctoral level learning is too erroneous for "absurd" to be appropriately descriptive. One might well question, then, whether an increased salary for such educationists as opposed to those having a B.S. degree or less is desirable in terms of benefits received by those to be educated.

Furthermore, as educational levels escalate in the field of education, there will be pressure from possessors and providers to "upgrade" qualifications of educationists. We might expect the M.A. to become the norm, and, at the same time it becomes necessary for pursuing the education vocation, to become an item of general distribution by class enrollment and tendering of fees rather than by graduate level educational accomplishment. The B.S. degree has become, some might suggest, almost a matter of right, and, in some fields, the M.A. may have well become equivalently based.

There may be some defense for this posturing. If educationists are required to possess advanced degrees of various sorts, then, perhaps, the requirements should be reduced to the point where those required to have them can obtain them. This would seem particularly true in public education wherein ability and/or estoric mathematical knowledge beyond that necessary to teach 10th grade math for example, would not seem necessary for a 10th grade math teacher. Surplus education may not be relevant to one's tasks. Therefore, by this argument, if advanced education is irrelevant to the tasks performed, there may be no harm in awarding advanced degrees or requiring such degrees by educationist functionaries, except that of a charade. By the same token, however, it might be questioned whether their possession should result in increased salaries for occupants of public school positions.

If the public should become aware of the use of educational kudos for increasing salary demands against the public, or for arguing for increased support for institutional providers, many of its members could, with equal validity, make a similar demand. For example, suppose mechanics began to require educational certifications such as an M.D. (Doctor of Motors) to find employment in service stations and garages. It might well be contended they require the degree of expertise and esoteric knowledge possessed by an expert in "curriculum planning" or "visual aid projector operation." If the example of the educational system is to be followed, those mechanics who do not have the ability, interest, and/or opportunity to learn more about motors than is necessary except for irrelevant credentialing might try a route of a Doctor of Arts (equivalent to the Doctor of Arts or the Doctor of Ministry) in Customer Relations. Avoiding the content of mechanical systems operation, they could concentrate on such items as

Psychology of Customer Relations, History of Motors, Mechanics and Public Relations, Mechanic-Community Relations, Garage Systems Analysis, -- and a perfectly reasonable sounding case could be built? It is somewhat doubtful that the public would stand for such credentialing to any degree that it increased demands against them, nor, at this point, would mechanics stand for it either.

However, if the situation were one of a majority of mechanics being already degreed wanting to fence out competition, or if a whole system of institutionalized providers was established to turn out the mechanics, pressure for such a development probably would be inevitable. If access to mechanical repair services were centralized in the State, or private garages operated only at disadvantage and harassment, and if the State controlled both the operation and credentialing of mechanics, the above credentialing racket would not seem so farfetched. In fact, it might well be the likely result. Hapgood observes, "For the average man, the diploma inflation means that he has to invest more years for the same result. He can even start college on the promise of a job four years later, then on graduation find either that there are too many of him or that someone has tacked on an extra two years, and he has to go back to school." Ibid., p. 160.

153. Educationists have found it in their vested interest to educationalize as many job requirements as possible through continual "educational upgrading". Already, many college graduates are performing work "far below their capabilities"(as measured by formal years of education attained), i.e., are "underemployed." Estimates of "over-qualification vary. One estimate by the University of Michigan research center conservatively states that 27% of the country's workers are overqualified. The United States Department of Labor places that figure at 35%. The past president of the American Society for the Advancement of Management says 80%." Maurice R. Berube, "The Revolt Against College," Commonwealth (April 15, 1977), p. 233. The anomalous situation of too much education has been described in Richard Freeman, The Over Educated American (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

154. One theme was the desirability of decentralization, wider distribution of productive property, and strengthening of the organic agrarian nature of the South rather than adoption of the less democratic and equalitarian "bankrupt urban, technological, and industrial civilization" of the north. See Frank L. Owsley, "The Pillars of Agrarianism," American Review, 4 (March, 1935), pp. 529-547, and M. E. Bradford, "What We Know for Certain: Frank Owsley and the Recovery of Southern History," Sewanee Review, 78 (October-December, 1970). For Owsley, "the central theme of Southern history was the South's efforts to defend herself against the degradations of northern industrial and financial interests...Behind all the attacks upon the South...were big business and high finance." Edward A. Shapiro, "Frank L. Owsley and the Defense of Southern Identity," Tennessee Historical Quarterly (Spring, 1977), p. 82.

APPENDIX I

SIE INDICATIONS OF POVERTY IN MISSISSIPPI IN 1975

Chapter 5, "Distribution of Poverty in Mississippi," examines the extent and distribution of poverty among the State's 1970 population according to reported income in 1969. This is the latest county information on poverty available from the Bureau of the Census. This chapter also provides some information on poverty among school age children in 1975 according to the 1976 Survey of Income and Education. The objective of this Appendix is to more closely examine the general findings on poverty in Mississippi on a state-wide basis and compare this data with the 1970 census findings.

The Bureau of the Census states:

> When comparing income and poverty statistics from various surveys and censuses, some differences in the estimates are to be expected even if they are for the same time period and use the same basic income concepts and definitions. For example, the March 1970 CPS estimated that there were 24.1 million persons in poverty in the United State in 1969, whereas the 1970 census estimate for the same year was 27.1 million persons--about 12 percent higher. The SIE estimate for 1975 was 24.0 million--about 7 percent lower than the recently published estimate for 1975 of 25.9 million from the March 1976 CPS.

The Bureau advises that "care should be exercised when comparing poverty data from these two sources because of numerous conceptual, collection, and processing differences." Although the major aspects of these two surveys were the same as to money income concept and questionnaire wording and design, there were major differences in results.

Persons in Poverty

Both the 1970 census and the 1975 SIE provide some information on the family status of persons in poverty in 1970 and in 1975. The number of poor persons in Mississippi decreased by 159,375 during the first half of the 1970s, a decrease of 21%. The number of poor persons age 65 or beyond decreased by 27,698 (23%). The number of poor persons in families decreased by 169,762 (25%). The number of poor children under 18 decreased by 93,110 (26%).

TABLE 1

PERCENT CHANGE IN NUMBER OF POOR PERSONS, AND CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS,[1] UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI 1970 - 1975[2]

	Numerical	Percentage
United States	11.5%	-2.3
Mississippi	21%	-9.3

[1] Differences in percent of totals for 1970 and 1975. These percentages for Mississippi are found in Table 2. U.S. percentages were 13.7 in 1970 and 11.4 in 1975.

[2] 1969 income for 1970 population; 1975 income for 1976 population.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, 4th Count Summary tape; 1975, Survey of Income and Education.

In looking at differential percentages of poor persons by specified demographic characteristics in 1970 and 1975, the largest decrease in comparative percentage points occurred among persons age 65 or beyond (17.5 percentage points). The decrease for persons in families was 9.8 percentage points. For children under 18 the decrease was 8.4 points. The overall decrease for the State was 9.3 percentage points, compared to 11.5 percentage points for the U.S. as a whole.

Although there was a significant decrease in the number and proportion of persons in poverty in Mississippi during the first half of the 1970 decade (from 35.4% to 26.1%), Mississippi still had the highest frequency of incidence of poverty of any State in the republic.

Table 3 shows the percentage of total poverty persons according to chronological and familial characteristics. The relationship between the proportions of poor Mississippians who were under (85%) or over (15%) age 65 remained the same. The proportion of poor persons in families in 1975 (85%) according to the 1976 SIE was slightly smaller than the proportion (90%) according to the 1970 census. This may be due to the extensive reduction in poverty among the elderly reflected in these sets of data.

TABLE 2

NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS IN POVERTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970 and 1975

POOR	NUMBER		PERCENT	
	1970[1]	1975[2]	1970[1]	1975[2]
Total Persons	766,605	607,230	35.4	26.1
Persons 65+	117,868	91,170	54.5	37.0
Persons in Families	686,962	517,200	33.8	24.0
Children under 18	353,240	260,130	41.2	32.8

1. 1970 residents, reporting 1969 income.
2. 1976 residents, reporting 1975 income.

Source: 1970, U.S. Census; 1975, SIE.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL PERSONS IN POVERTY BY SPECIFIED CATEGORIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1970 and 1975

CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL	
	1970	1975
Poor Persons	100%	100%
Under 65	85%	85%
65 and beyond	15%	15%
In Families	90%	85%
Unrelated individuals	10%	15%
Family Headship	100%	100%
Male Headed	73%	60%
Female Headed	27%	40%
Unrelated Individuals	100%	100%
Male	31%	29%
Female	69%	71%

Source: ·Same as Table 2 except as noted in footnote 5.

TABLE 4

NUMBER*AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS BELOW CURRENT POVERTY LEVEL AND BELOW 125% OF CURRENT POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Persons	Total	Below Current Poverty Level		Below 125% of Current Poverty Level	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL	232456	60723	26.1	78694	33.9
65 Years and Over	24643	9117	37.0	11945	48.5
IN FAMILIES	215119	81720	24.0	68516	31.9
Head	59720	12198	20.4	16293	27.3
Related Children under 18	79315	26013	32.8	32636	41.1
Less than 3 years	12080	4141	34.3	5052	41.8
3 to 5 years	11617	3723	32.0	4484	38.6
6 to 13 years	36206	11570	32.0	14655	40.5
14 and 15 years	10075	3363	33.4	4324	42.4
16 and 17 years	9337	3216	34.4	4122	44.2
5 to 17 years	59600	19434	32.6	24522	41.1
UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS	17337	9003	51.9	10178	58.7
MALE	6455	2578	39.9	2895	44.9
FEMALE	10882	6425	59.0	7283	66.9
PERSONS IN FAMILIES WITH MALE HEAD					
TOTAL	177948	31012	17.4	44259	24.9
65 years and older	13695	3268	23.9	4912	35.9
HEAD	49568	7413	15.0	10521	21.2
Related Children Under 18	62222	13456	21.6	18783	30.2
Less than 3 years	9819	2036	20.7	2887	29.4
3 to 5 years	8738	1626	18.6	2239	25.6
6 to 13 years	28566	5842	20.5	8341	29.2
14 and 15 years	8064	2087	25.9	2817	34.9
16 and 17 years	7035	1865	26.5	2500	35.5
5 to 17 years	46683	10424	22.3	14424	30.9

*In tens

PERSONS IN FAMILIES
WITH FEMALE HEAD

TOTAL	37172	20708	55.7	24257	65.3
65 Years and Over	3394	694	20.4	1310	38.6
HEAD	10152	4784	47.1	5772	56.9
Related Children Under 18	17093	2557	73.5	13854	81.0
Less than 3 years	2261	2105	93.1	2165	95.7
3 to 5 years	2879	2097	72.8	2245	78.0
6 to 13 years	7640	5728	75.0	6314	82.6
14 and 15 years	2011	1276	63.5	1507	74.9
5 to 17 years	12917	9010	69.8	10098	78.2

Source: 1976 SIE.

The most notable change in terms of proportions of total poor persons acocunted for by various classifications of population shown in Table 3 is the increase in the porportion of female headed families. This may be a reflection of the trend toward increased proportions of female headed families in general,[5] or it may be an artifact of differential data collection. The sex composition of unrelated persons persons in poverty remained about the same (circa 30% male).

Poverty and Food Stamp Recipiency

MacDonald estimated that food stamp gifts to persons in poverty in 1974 reduced poverty in Mississippi by 14.4%.[6] The 1976 SIE gathered information on the receipt of food stamps in 1975 for poverty and non-poverty households. As may be seen in Table 5, nearly 6% of the above poverty level households[7] and almost 40% of the below poverty level households were receiving food stamps in 1975

Table 5

FOOD STAMP RECIPIENCY FOR HOUSEHOLDS CONSISTING OF PRIMARY FAMILIES OR INDIVIDUALS, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

	TOTAL	ABOVE POVERTY LEVEL	BELOW POVERTY LEVEL
NUMBER	735,370	545,464	189,905
RECEIVING FOOD STAMPS	106,166	31,132	75,034
PROPORTION	14.4%	5.7%	39.7%

Source: Release of Office of Operations, Office of Education, "Survey of Census in Spring 1976 of 1975 Incomes of 150,000 Households," April 27, 1977, various tables.

Racial Comparisons

Tables 6 and 7 show total and poverty distributions in Mississippi by race by total, below poverty, and below 125% of the poverty level according to the 1976 Survey of income and education. These data indicate that circa one-half of the black and about 13% of the whites in the 1976 survey reported 1975 incomes below the poverty level. These figures were 49.9% and 61.5%, white and black respectively, below 125% of the poverty level.

Blacks are indicated to reflect a much higher frequency of incidence of poverty for both the total and aged populations, as well as for

TABLE 6

NUMBER* AND PERCENTAGE OF WHITE PERSONS BELOW CURRENT POVERTY LEVEL AND BELOW 125% OF CURRENT LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Persons	Total	Below Current Poverty Level		Below 125% of Current Poverty Level	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	148941	18988	12.7	27436	18.4
65 Years and Over	15380	3878	25.2	5631	36.6
In Families	138975	15023	10.8	22730	16.3
Male Headed	128599	11961	9.3	19068	14.8
Female Headed	10376	3062	29.5	3661	35.3

* In tens

Source: 1976 SIE.

TABLE 7

NUMBER* AND PERCENT OF BLACK PERSONS BELOW CURRENT POVERTY LEVEL AND BELOW 125% OF CURRENT LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Persons	Total	Below Current Poverty Level Number	Below Current Poverty Level Percent	Below 125% of Current Poverty Level Number	Below 125% of Current Poverty Level Percent
Total	82457	41463	50.3	50758	61.5
65 Years and Over	9153	5171	56.5	6204	67.8
In Families	75154	36493	48.5	45353	60.3
Male Headed	48563	19051	39.2	24963	51.4
Female Headed	26591	17442	65.6	20391	76.7

* In tens

Source: 1976 SIE.

male and female headed families. Furthermore, blacks comprised over one-half of the total number of poor in Mississippi according to the 1976 Survey of Income and Education for the total (68.3%), aged (56.7%), unrelated persons (55.2%), and persons in male headed (61.4%) and female headed (84.2%) families (Table 8).

Table 8

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POOR POPULATION, BY RACIAL CATEGORY, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Category	White	Black
Total Persons	28.7	68.3
Persons 65 and Beyond	42.5	56.7
Unrelated Individuals	44.0	55.2
Male	34.9	65.1
Female	47.7	51.2
In Families		
Male Head	38.6	61.4
Female Head	14.8	84.2

Source: 1976 SIE.

Table 9 shows the percentage of total and poor populations for whites and blacks in Mississippi according to the 1975 SIE. Whereas the survey showed persons 65 and beyond to comprise about 10% of the total white population, aged persons accounted for some 20% of the white poverty population. For blacks, a considerable smaller percentage of of poor population consists of aged persons. A much higher percentage of female headed families may be noted among blacks for both the poor and nonpoor populations.

Table 9

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AND POOR POPULATIONS, BY SPECIFIED CATEGORIES, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Category	White		Black	
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor
Persons	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Below 65	89.7	79.6	88.9	87.5
65 and Beyond	10.3	20.4	11.1	12.5
In Families	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male Headed	92.5	79.6	64.6	52.0
Female Headed	7.5	20.7	35.4	47.8

Source: 1976 SIE.

SUMMARY

Caution must be exercised in comparing the results of the SIE with prior census data. Also, caution is urged in comparing of categories of population since variables such as race may be subject to relatively larger sampling fractions. With these cautions in mind, the following observations seem justified on the distribution of poverty in Mississippi in 1975 on the basis of the 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

1. The number of persons in poverty in Mississippi decreased from circa one-third to circa one-fourth during the first half of the seventies.
2. The proportion of near poor persons decreased from over forty percent to about one-third.
3. The incidence of poverty continued to be more frequent among blacks than whites and among female headed families.

1. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "A Brief Statement on the Survey of Income and Education and Other Related Matters," n.d., pp. 2-3.

2. *Ibid.*, p.4.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 3. The contrast referenced is between March 1976 Current Population Survey and the 1976 SIE (May and June were the primary interview months) rather than the 1970 census. Even so, the amount of detail in the SIE is not sufficient to provide extensive comparison with the 1970 census data for changes in the number and characteristics of the poor.

4. B. S. McEaddy, "Women Who Head Families: A Socioeconomic Analysis," *Monthly Labor Review*, 99 (June, 1976), pp. 3-9. R. Stein, "The Economic Status of Families Headed By Women," *Monthly Labor Review*, 93 (December, 1976), pp. 3-10.

5. The 1970 data on family headship in Table 3 excludes inmates of institutions, members of the armed forces living in barracks, college students living in dormitories and unrelated individuals under age 14. The number of poor persons in Mississippi according to the 1970 census thus limited was 681,754. Other 1970 data in Table 3 are based on total poor persons inclusive (766,605). The SIE survey counted college students living away from home as family members.

6. Maurice MacDonald, "Adjustment of the Poverty Measure Based On Estimates of the Food Stamp Subsidy," Unpublished paper, cited in Janice Peskin, *The Measure of Poverty*, Technical Paper VII, "in-Kind Income and the Measurement of Poverty," U.S. Dept of HEW, Poverty Studies Task Force, p. 58.

7. A household includes all the persons who occupy a group of rooms or a single room which constitutes a housing unit. Primary persons in households excludes secondary individuals (lodgers and resident employees).

8. "Even though the SIE data are based on a large national sample consisting of approximately 151,000 interviewed households, caution should be exercised in analyzing these data...the SIE sample was designed to be optimal for the purpose of estimating the number of children in poverty for each State. Other variables such as race are often subject to relatively larger sampling variability and caution should be exercised in analyzing differences within States..." Letter of Manuel D. Plotkin, Director, Bureau of the Census, dated June 7, 1977.

ERRATA SHEET

(known stenographical misfeasances

Page	Paragraph/Line Footnote/Line	Correction
14	Table 2	Female 66.6, ~~6.6~~
25	28/13	States, ~~tates~~
112		State 28.9, ~~20.0~~
115	Table 3	White 15.7, ~~36.1~~
146	34/1	Eva, ~~Era~~
209	1/5	futurity, ~~futirity~~
227	15/16	question, ~~questions~~
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243	Table 13	TENANCY AND VALUE
302	41/1	Clarkston, ~~Clarkeson~~
336	13/2	yeoman, ~~yoeman~~
343	34/13	"other than poor"
344	40/8	volume, ~~column~~
345	47/3	Though, ~~Through~~
398	28/16	Kolko, ~~Kilko~~
405	52/2	which, ~~whcih~~
406	54/14	purpose, ~~prupose~~
415	87/11	citizen's, ~~citizens~~
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